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EDITORIAL

There is urgent need of more sociology in educational theory, and there is also urgent need of more interest on the part of sociologists in educational theory and practice. Long ago Dr. Dewey told us that the educative process is a social process; and this has generally been accepted as true by educators without appreciably modifying either their theory or their practice. The converse, that the social process is essentially educative, is not always fully appreciated either by sociologists or by educators. But a little reflection upon the experience of life is sufficient to demonstrate the truth of this proposition also. The social process, which we may define as the process of inter-adjustment among individuals, is essentially in human groups a process of communication. But communication always results in a process of learning in some degree. The social process, by which groups of human beings carry on a common life and live together, is therefore necessarily a process of mutual education in the broadest and most informal sense of that word. But the most highly developed system of formal education is but a system of control and refinement of this process. Human beings live together by learning from one another, by interlearning. As Dr. Spiller has pointed out, such interlearning is the distinctively *human* social factor and provides the main principle for understanding all forms of group behavior and the historical development of all human society.

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Now, this capacity to learn freely from the experience of others enables human groups to store up all experience which is valued, to develop civilization, and to progress socially. It is the central fact of human social life. It is also the central fact in education. Educational theory should be built upon the fact that human beings learn to modify their conduct by communication with other human beings. This is what makes group culture possible. The cultural theory of human society necessitates a new adjustment in educational theory; and this fact is not yet fully appreciated by educational theorists. Only within the last few weeks we have been informed by a leading educator in an official position that "we learn only by doing." This ancient dogma of educational theory stands in the way of the development of any adequate social education. For adolescents can hardly learn the duties of citizenship, of family life, of international conduct by "doing," unless, indeed, the word, doing, be expanded to include imaginative doings. It would be better to say outright that the bulk of social adjustments must be learned through social imagination and social sympathy, and that these require for material social facts as wide as human experience.

Less frequently explicitly expressed is the belief that the aim of all practical education is to make individuals "mentally resourceful and mentally humble." If this is the aim of education, social education can only have a small part in the whole process. Such educational individualism puts an effective bar to the progress of social education. The sociological view of education, as a process of social adjustment and development to create the fully social man, the good citizen, the intelligent member of the group, is sorely needed to correct such educational individualism and make the schools serve society.

It might seem that the editor is pointing to Dr. Spiller's article on "The Place of Interlearning in Education" as the

contribution of supreme value in this issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*. This, however, would be a misinterpretation. If read carefully, every article in this issue will be found to have a vital bearing upon either educational theory or educational practice. The different articles have been gathered, not with a view to presenting one point of view, but rather several. Sociologists are still divided into schools, and the leading schools among American sociologists are represented in this issue. However, while differences will be perceptible, an underlying unity is easily discoverable. This unity is to be found in the thought that education is always a process of social adjustment, and should be treated as such both in theory and in practice.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

THE PLACE OF INTERLEARNING IN EDUCATION

DR. G. SPILLER

London

For decades now educational psychologists have been bent on ascertaining the innate or original nature of human beings. This quest was prompted by the laudable desire to offer scientific guidance to educationists and educators. Thus, by means of intelligence and cognate tests, a multitude of educational psychologists have been seeking to determine what educational provision should be made for types of children who, they presume, widely differ because of wide differences in innate mental capacity due to race, nation, social class, and parentage. Likewise, with the same educational end in view, they have endeavored to discover the native mental traits common to human beings. And their general outlook on the subject has been also governed by the same primary consideration for in-born human nature.

In the same spirit numerous vocational-guidance experts strive to find the vocational niche into which, by his or her very nature, a given individual fits. That is, they proceed on the assumption that some men are *born* cooks, others are *born* dukes, and so on *ad indefinitum*. To state this differently, these vocational guides profess to put innately round and square men into round and square holes respectively, thereby eliminating, in their estimation, vocational misfits. They definitely maintain that teachers, merchants, industrialists, sailors, artists, men of science, pastors, and all others following an occupation, must possess innate predilections for their calling if they are to fill their posts satisfactorily.

From the above mode of thinking there is but a step to the eugenist philosophy. This contends, on the one hand, that men, women, and children should reap unhindered the good or ill

consequences of their (innately determined) successes and failures and, on the other, that "inferior" human stocks should be discouraged from propagating their kind and "superior" human stocks encouraged to multiply unstintingly. As a result, it is urged, inferior individuals would tend to disappear and a race of supermen and superpupils would be evolved.¹

In a word, many educational psychologists reason on the supposition popular in certain quarters that man is but one animal species among numberless others and should be therefore treated as such. Hence, they deem it imperative to insist on the cardinal importance educationally of native capacity and native aptitudes and on the complementary biological principle of selective mating.

This practically exclusive emphasis on inborn human nature raises, however, an embarrassing problem. One ants' nest resembles most closely all other nests of the same ant species, both geographically and historically considered. And this remarkable uniformity in the behavior of the members of a given ant species holds for all intents of *all* species of animals, up to the highest and including our cousins the apes. In fact, the behavior of the members of any given animal species is actually so similar that neither position in space nor distribution in time appear to make any noteworthy difference, variations being closely grouped around a certain norm.

Turn now to man. The picture presented here is radically different. Geographically today peoples differ enormously in mental status, almost incalculably beyond what is observable geographically among the groups of any given animal species. If a person were only acquainted with the best in contemporary England, he would be amazed when he came to learn of the customs of the Australian aborigines, and he would be no less

¹ With regard to eugenics, see Spiller, "Francis Galton on Hereditary Genius," *Sociological Review*, January and April-July 1932.

astounded if an anthropological work revealed to him the cultural face of England ten thousand years ago. The *degree* of difference mentally between man and animal species may be gauged by the following comparison:

Mentally, through traditions and otherwise, mankind forms a single, interconnected group from eolithic times to the present day, and if we take into account, for example, the Universal Postal Union, it also practically forms, as it has always tended to form, a single, interconnected group geographically. Again, human societies differ indefinitely in complexity both geographically and historically, while intellectually and morally human beings differ among themselves limitlessly and are (as we shall see) all alike educable to a virtually unlimited extent. And, lastly, human history registers an incalculably great progressive development, e.g., from eoliths to (say) Diesel engines and ultra-microscopes, from animal cries and calls to rich languages, writing, printing, and broadcasting; from unreflectiveness to all-embracing reflective thought, from rock shelters, nakedness, cold, and darkness to modern palaces, spacious wardrobes, and electric heating and lighting; from a four to a four hundred miles' hourly rate of locomotion and from neighborhood to world tours; from bodily energy to steam and electricity; from parental slaps, local supplies, licking a wound, private vengeance, and tramping to postgraduate training, world commerce, antiseptic surgery, international law, and airliners, from numberless independent hordes to an all but universal League of Nations; from a negligible to a colossal mental range among human beings; and from the merest rudiments to a vertiginously high degree of self-control, sociality, knowledge, and art. The societies of any given animal species, on the contrary, are for all intents only germinally connected with the generations preceding them, and not at all with kindred living groups. They do not vary in complexity either in space or in time. Intellectually and morally, their members (if we disregard here subdivisions, as among ants and bees) virtually do not differ among themselves at all and are (as we shall see) all alike only educable to a virtually infinitesimal extent. And their history does not involve any noticeable change or progressive development, e.g., the one or two nonorganismal tools used, where any, are *always unfashioned and never improved*; the cries and calls, the unreflectiveness, the primitive shelters, nakedness, cold, and darkness *never* develop into anything higher, and the rate

and compass of locomotion, the available energy, the modes of educating, supplying, healing, avenging, and travel, the societal organization, the range of mental differences among their members, as well as the degree of self-control, sociality, knowledge, and art, remain *ever* the same. (*Towards an Agreed Basis in Sociology*, pp. 4-5.)

It might, of course, be argued that the immeasurably great differences to be found among human individuals and societies and the colossal cultural progress registered historically are due to corresponding changes in innate human nature. But if this were the case, the *degree* of innate human variability would be startlingly unique, fatally contradicting all we know of the comparatively negligible mental variability of all other animal species. To express the question of degree arithmetically: while members of any given animal species may differ in mental status as 1 to 3, members of the human species may differ mentally as 1 to 30,000,000—indeed, perhaps as 1 to 30,000,000,000 and more, if *potential* difference be taken into account.

Moreover, the genetic explanation of differences in the achievements of human beings cannot possibly be correct. The children of emigrants are frequently mental replicas of the indigenous children with whom they associate, the Far East has within a short space of time become sensibly Westernized; the youth of the most lowly tribes may fully benefit by a Western education, as could be shown; and large numbers of Western adults today have “moved with the times.” For instance, far-reaching mental changes in individuals may and do take place, demonstrating that the antibiological theory of notable mental differences in men being always congenitally conditioned is decidedly mistaken.²

As for a second fundamental aspect, it is beyond doubt that

² For evidence regarding human educability, civilizability, and mutability, as also concerning the chief contentions in this article generally, see Spiller, *The Origin and Nature of Man* (London Williams and Norgate, 1935) as well as Spiller, *Towards an Agreed Basis in Sociology* (with an appendix on “The Causes of Greatness”), reprinted from the *Sociological Review*, 1933

in early prehistoric ages contemporaneous human beings, just like the members of any given animal species, differed for all intents only imperceptibly from one another in mental attainments (i.e., differed *within* the extremely lowly culture of their time) and that therefore the vast mental differences of today are unquestionably not an innate but a socio-historical product.

What explains, then, this crucial difference between men and animals? The answer is, animals are *individuo-psychic*, only able to benefit by their own individual experience, while men are *specio-psychic*, capable of benefiting by their own individual experience as well as by the experience of their whole kind past and present. Hence, the distinctively human ability to learn freely from others—briefly, *interlearning*—furnishes the opportunity for individuals, peoples, and generations to improve their mental status, their cultures, and their societies almost infinitely beyond anything of the kind attainable by any given animal species. Hence, granted the possibility of limitlessly cumulative interlearning among men, the bewildering variety and stupendous growth of human culture is easily explained. Thus, it becomes plain why physically man is indistinguishable from animal species, while mentally he tends to be, with the ages, almost infinitely removed from them.

More than any other sociologist, Professor Ellwood has distinctly recognized the unparalleled importance of the learning process in human life. Interlearning is its natural offspring. It defines the human learning process as being first and foremost one of learning from the experience of our myriad fellows near and far in space and time, thus rationally explaining the immense gulf dividing men from animals. We are therefore not surprised to find that man, as evolutionary theory demands, is by birth only moderately superior in mental status to animal species nearly related to him and that his civilizations and the notable mental variations among men and generations of men are accounted for by a distinctively human and fully adequate factor, interlearning, a factor which in principle makes universally available the contributions of all individuals, peoples, and generations. In these circumstances,

educationists should readily concede that the eugenic or nativistic hypothesis on the subject was a crude makeshift, due to the absence of a more obvious theory of explaining the perplexing phenomena. (Only if we suppose that interlearning is the sole factor accounting for men's super-animal achievements, can we avoid coming into constant conflict with biology, history, and comparative education.) (Concerning the evolutionary reason why man, and man alone, is specio-psychic, *see* Spiller, *Origin*, Chapter 5.)

Interlearning clarifies also a third fundamental aspect of human experience. Assuming earliest Aurignacian man to have been the earliest known representative of modern man (or *homo sapiens*)—and anthropologists appear to be agreed on this point as well as on Aurignacian man having been broadly our equal in innate capacity—it follows that by nature human beings only measurably surpass the highest animals in innate mental status. (The recently discovered “Kenya man” need not concern us here.) Everything in men today above the earliest Aurignacian cultural level (minus earliest Aurignacian man's social heritage) should be attributed therefore to cumulative interlearning. Thus, a valid individualistic educational psychology would find and leave all human beings necessarily on the animal plane or, more exactly, on the pre-Aurignacian mental level. Accordingly, interlearning accounts for the gigantic development of human culture from primordial times onwards; for mankind largely forming, as it has always tended to form, a single, interconnected group geographically; for the existence of an almost infinite variety of individual and social achievements today; for every degree of human ability and mental status beyond the earliest Aurignacian cultural level; and, generally speaking, for man's unique and supreme place in animate nature

These are not speculative, but strictly scientific, inferences based on an exhaustive examination of the general facts of human life. Indeed, they are designed to supersede the vague and speculative inferences

of eugenists, which many educational psychologists have adopted under the mistaken impression that they were grounded in scientific study.

Instead, therefore, of innate capacity and innate predilections accounting for the mental achievements of children and adults and for the trend of their interests, and instead of breeding being of outstanding importance for social and educational advance, a sociological factor, interlearning, explains men's behavior so far as this appreciably diverges from the behavior of animals or markedly excels it. Consequently, a system of education which allowed only, or mainly, for innate capacity and innate predilections would not carry our children as far as the entrance examination to a kindergarten. School education signifies primarily systematized interlearning, each oncoming generation tending to make its own the consolidated chief discoveries and inventions of the human race in every sphere, not excluding tastes, sentiments, and character traits. And, by implication, interlearning covers also the growing improvements and changes in methods of teaching or learning and in everything else pertaining to the successful conduct of educational establishments and the work associated with them.

The school offers the most convincing proof of the univalued importance of interlearning, for a school which did not teach, whose teachers had never been taught anything, and whose scholars never learned aught from others, would be a contradiction in terms and leave men stranded on the animal or pre-kindergarten plane. (Whether the teaching and interlearning are direct or indirect is immaterial here.) Similarly with the world where we adults live and labor. Legions of men are and have been busy perfecting the motor car, the airplane, the film, wireless, and television, as well as adapting these for sundry purposes. In the industries here concerned, armies of individuals have been pooling their inventions, with painful gradualness improving some rudimentary instrument which itself was

the last term of a series of ever simpler inventions, and discoveries dating ultimately back to primitive times and primitive flints. So, too, for instance, our knowledge of vitamins has been built up by international cooperation among specialists, more than a thousand original papers on the subject having been published during one year.⁸ And the numerous changes and advances in the enthralling department of modern physics tell the same tale of a science constructing itself out of almost countless microscopic individual contributions. Nor is it different with the historically ever more refined æsthetic, social, societal, and pan-human sentiments. Accordingly, if we imagined man to be individuo-psychic (as *all* animal species are), the whole of our culture above that of the earliest stone ages would vanish, while if, on the other hand, we imagined that man is specio-psychic, we should not only comprehend why mentally present-day men at their best almost infinitely excel their remotest *homo sapiens* ancestors, but why mentally the men of the distant future will almost infinitely excel men at their best today.

The *fundamental* educational implications of the recognition of the distinctively human and limitlessly cumulative interlearning factor will now be manifest. If this factor is rightly interpreted here, tolerably sound educational ideas can only result from arduous collective thought during many generations and from doing justice to every possible factor having a direct or indirect bearing on education. To rest, therefore, content with what has been educationally achieved; to think that the true educational ideal may suggest itself to this or that person at haphazard, to wait for the "intuitive" proposals of some educational "genius", or to advocate "self-development" and "self-dependence" would hence signify a most regrettable

⁸ Presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1933

misapprehension of the method of creating men and women of character, intelligence, and civic sense.

Nor should there be any illusion concerning the general educational objective. The teacher (who must be thoroughly trained) ought to have for his ideal to lead his pupils to assimilate the cream of the specio-social heritage, to bring them to love and further (throughout their lives) the best of what is known in every department of human existence; and to induce them to become strong personalities determined to fulfill their self-regarding and other-regarding duties. Through his teaching, his pupils should realize the intimate interdependence mentally of individuals, societies, and generations, training them also to coöperate whole-heartedly in their school tasks, their school life, and otherwise. As the outcome of his endeavors he should make them feel that but for interlearning they would be like the beasts of the jungle—without language, without thought, without voluntary recollection, without the higher emotions, without conscious purposes, without general information, and without any material culture and society. He would stimulate and develop their social imagination and their social sympathies (as Professor Eliwood justly supposes) and aim at their becoming enthusiastic citizens of their locality, country, and the world, as also mutually helpful members of households, staffs, and associations. Through his treatment of subjects, he would make clear to them that our culture is a specio-historical product, its beginnings dating back to the most primitive times and its comparatively highest stages reaching forward to a dim, far-off futurity. Consequently, he would enlist their interest in the human stream of time as such—past, present and future, encouraging the equal stressing of these. Accordingly—to obviate man being dragged back to the level of the brute—the generations to come would avoid the folly of condemning the past, exalting the present, and discounting the future, the

madness of political dictatorships, individualistic economics, class and national enmities, and racialism, the inanity of each generation seeking to devise its own entirely original architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and art generally; and the senselessness of an all-round individualistic conception of life and of the view that the individual good and the common good clash. And, lastly, his pupils, comprehending the cause of man's humanity, would appreciate why they are being trained to be perennially open-minded, modest, and ready to learn and coöperate, as well as to respect the complementary virtues conditioning the growth of the cultural heritage—farsightedness, characterfulness, initiative, enterprise, and progressiveness. (As to human instincts and the social aspect of the satisfaction of men's physical, intellectual, affective, conative, and moral nature see Spiller, *Towards an Agreed Basis in Sociology*, paragraphs 23 to 26.)

Here it may be noted that the primates, to which *homo sapiens* belongs, are all more or less malleable temperamentally and that therefore altruistic and social sentiments may be successfully imparted to our school population. At the same time it should be remembered that since innately the modern individual is no further advanced in mental status than earliest Cro-Magnon man, historical, environmental, and subtle psychological circumstances will decide what and how much he will learn from his fellows near and far in space and time. Again, since men are just animals so far as they are uncultured, all kinds of vices may spring up in them under unfavorable social and cultural conditions. Besides, until mankind is omnilaterally cultured, men will be liable to gross misconceptions concerning the conduct of the understanding and of life (A scientific methodology and a scientific ethical training, sure to be developed as time passes, will eventually remove most of these misconceptions.) The animal nature of man and shortsightedness thus still exploit frequently what may be acquired by interlearning, but in historically diminishing proportions. (See Book II, Spiller, *Origin*.) Finally, since the social heritage is man's most precious possession and since the single individual can add little thereto

and may add what is undesirable, there is at all but the highest stages of culture—where the past, present, and future are all alike broadly honored—a tendency to resist attempts at introducing changes in the prevailing customs. Here is one chief reason for the cultural stagnation of many peoples. The general adoption of a true conception of man would therefore yield educational results as revolutionary as those yielded scientifically and socially by the general adoption of a true conception of nature.

Furthermore, the interlearning factor involves that the mass of children are almost limitlessly educable and should therefore all alike receive the best education available. The difficulties encountered today in this connection originate in mistaken views of human nature and in adverse social conditions.

To conclude. With the recognition of the paramount importance of the interlearning factor in human life and of the extremely modest and comparatively equal innate mental capacity of human beings, it becomes self-evident that the individualistic educational psychology of today is basically inadequate. It should discard therefore its genetic explanation of the notable mental differences and changes in human individuals, societies, and epochs; allow for the profound influence of interlearning on the development and status of the innate mental constituents common to human beings; reckon with the necessity of world-wide and age-long collaboration in the solution of the major educational problems; and frankly leave these aspects to be dealt with by an educational sociology which has fully grasped the fact of the central place to be assigned to interlearning in educational theory and practice.

THE PROBLEMS OF AN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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The problem of sociological science, in the large, is an understanding of culture and personality in their interdependent and mutually conditioning relations. The problem is twofold. The *growth of culture, in general as in minute detail, is the result of human effort to satisfy human needs as these are determined by original equipment, external conditions, and the cumulative social heritage, the personality, in its rich variety of individual form and pattern, is the conditioned result of the human contacts determined by the cultural environment in which it develops and functions.*

The nature of the general sociological problem determines the character of educational sociology as of each of the subsidiary and specialized phases of the general discipline. The interest of the educational sociologist differs from that of the general sociologist only in the fact that he works with a specially selected set of materials. The school is at once a product of human effort to satisfy needs and a factor determining subsequent needs and efforts. The task of educational sociology is, therefore, twofold. It is obligated to analyze the evolution of the educational institutions in response to the needs of their creators, and it is concerned to define the influence of the *educational institutions in determining the social personality of those who come within their influence.* The nature of the problem makes it amenable to approach either from the side of personality or from the side of culture. Accepting human need and personality as constants, the educational sociologist may undertake the analysis of the factors or forces operating to determine the form and function of the institution in a given culture, its interaction and integration on the institutional level with co-existing institutions. Or, accepting the institution as an existing

constant, the educational sociologist may undertake to define its influence on the personality and character of those exposed to its influence.

In the voluminous writing on education and the school, relatively little attention is given to fundamental sociological problems from either the personality or the institutional standpoint. Problems of school finance, physical plant, administration, curricula, psychology of learning, methods and techniques of instruction, the learning capacity of students, extracurricular activities, and various other items are extensively and presumably competently treated. But on the sociological plane the literature is scanty and thin. The educational sociologists have for the most part been concerned with other than sociological material. Even that part of the writing specifically labeled as sociological commonly deals with social, practical, and moral topics or with questions of educational objective and curricular content rather than with sociological problems.

The preoccupation of educational sociologists with problems in the marginal field of education is easily understandable. Educational aims and objectives and procedures are so deeply set in tradition and custom and so well entrenched in faith and dogma that any fundamental questioning arouses resentment that may easily express itself in overt or subtle persecution. The sociologist, of course, is not concerned to criticize the institution or to question its behavior, he is interested to understand its forms, functions, and development in diverse situations, to understand the behavior and ideologies of schoolmen; to discover the effect of the school on the coexisting institutions and the general social organizations; and to trace its influence on personality and character development. But the general public is not able to distinguish between the point of view of the reformer and that of the sociological student. Moreover, any candid and objective analysis of an institution and its function-

ing inevitably exhibits its aspects in a manner unpleasing to certain of its functionaries and beneficiaries.

Nevertheless, some thoroughgoing analysis of the institution as an institution would seem to be a major objective of an educational sociology.

A candid procedure might perhaps inquire initially concerning the purpose of the institution. It seems commonly to be assumed to be a creature of the state, the church, or other more inclusive organization and to function within the framework, under the control, and in the interests of its parent and patron, that it is maintained to inculcate a certain cultural tradition and to perpetuate a sacrosanct body of belief and doctrine. These aims, if they are the aims, are sometimes made abundantly explicit by outstanding modern educators. "If we are to use history and the other social studies as a means of making good citizens. . . ." "That the school may adequately meet its responsibility as a socially unifying agency. . . ." "An educational system in a democracy has a fundamental duty to discharge in insuring a thoroughgoing community of ideals, aspirations, and standards of conduct. . . ." "The primary function of education is to integrate the people. . . ." "The school is the one agency that may be controlled definitely and consciously to the end. . . ." Such statements seem frankly to recognize that the school is a propaganda organization to regiment the masses; an instrument of the state or ruling class to perpetuate the mores and thereby perpetuate the going order.

It would seem to be in order to inquire concerning the integration of the school in the inclusive culture complex. The character of the educational institutions is, we would perhaps agree, a function of the particular social organization and changes, with or without lag, as the culture evolves. One can hardly accept the standpoint so often occupied that its form is an independent construct of the schoolmen; one cannot accept

seriously the implication of much modern talk to the effect that the school may be independent of outside influence. There is no doubt some degree of freedom but the range cannot be great else the school becomes exotic and its essential function is assumed by other social structures. To inquire into the educational functions to be performed in a given culture and social organization is to define the school, and to define it quite independently of any emotional and sentimental bias, and quite independently of contemporary school activities. Such analysis is an essential prerequisite to the rational control of minor educational trends as well as to the mediation of major readjustments as the character of the culture and civilization changes.

A genuine educational sociology might also—to mention but a single additional specific line of fundamental research—inquire into the educational process as such. Beneath the empirical confusion and apart from the concrete procedures of the schoolroom and the rationalizations of functionaries and schoolmen, there is presumably a social process that may be isolated and stated in general terms. Unless there is an educational process, educational sociology is, of course, an illusion, a concept devoid of scientific content: there can be no science where there is no process to be defined. Moreover, until such time as the educational process is defined and clarified and its interrelations understood, much of the concrete activity of the schoolroom must remain on an empirical and common-sense level.

The school deserves study as a conscious control instrument. It is presumably designed to effect progressive change in the character and competence of youth through the inculcation of a traditional moral doctrine and the imparting of a group of skills. Aside from a very pertinent question concerning the congeniality of these two objectives at different accomplishment levels, there are various questions having to do with efficiency and effectiveness. The progress of students in the routine acqui-

sition of information is perhaps adequately measured by the schoolmen. But the long-time efficiency of the school routine—the degree to which activity and formal success in later life are conditioned and controlled by the information and techniques as well as the personality and character effects of indoctrination—is not entirely clear. The incidental effects of the modern school are still less well known but possibly more important from the standpoint of character and personality. At least it would be interesting to know the effects if any of the attempted standardization of behavior and mental content on the habits, interests, and ultimate life-organization of students. The influence on the child of being made an insignificant unit in a great juvenile aggregation presided over by an examining drill master is apparently not well, if at all, known. The influence of the institution as such, the mere brute existence of a more or less rigid and formal structure with a body of functionaries dependent for livelihood and status on its perpetuation and aggrandisement, in defining social ends, giving direction to behavior norms, channelizing activities, and otherwise modifying social and personal development, seems to be worthy of more attention than it has as yet received.

The persons most immediately, directly, and profoundly influenced by an institution are the functionaries and workers who control and administer its routine. There appears to be a close interdependent relation between the type of men and the institutional requirements.

It appears to be a profitable working hypothesis that types of personality and character are formed by and may be defined in terms of the institutional demands. One understands the institution by understanding the type of men it produces. An administrative position imposes a defined range of activities and calls for a certain type of mind, the individual who occupies the position and performs its functions is molded to the pattern set.

He is a product of the situation and in character and personality epitomizes its values and its routine. The men of God appear to develop certain clearly recognizable types even on a common-sense level. It is commonly assumed and may be true that the church attracts men of a certain character and level of intelligence. Once within the institution the run of attention, the mode of thought, the manner of life, the public expectation, and other factors mold character and personality in fairly definite ways. In any case, the sanctimonious manner and other traits of religious functionaries may be defined and related to the selective or conditioning processes that determine them. The members of the legal fraternity, because of membership selection, indoctrination, run of attention, or other cause manifest a fairly definite type of mind. They seem to have certain common and distinctive traits. In concrete reality the range is somewhat wide: there are subtypes ranging from the shyster to the Supreme Court Justice. But even on the observational level, there is a community of mental outlook and a mode of thought sufficient to identification and classification.

Aside from some minor fiction, the teacher has been subjected to little sociological study or analysis. But by virtue of his place and status in the community life, he is subjected to a specialized group of influences. Presumably he is conditioned by his selected range of experiences as definitely as other specialized persons.

The teaching profession is doubtless very miscellaneous in personnel. Its membership is, in large measure, drawn from the exceptionally competent and alert students who are attracted to an intellectual type of life and encouraged by instructors to enter the teaching field. In some measure the teachers are individuals without definite vocational objective who see no equally attractive alternative means of livelihood. To others in the ranks teaching is definitely a temporary adjustment, a

stepping-stone to other occupations, or a stopgap between college and matrimony. In any case there are selective influences at work. However variant these may be the teachers are drawn from certain classes in society and represent certain types of training and interest. The school experience immediately operates selectively: a large percentage of those who enter leave the profession after a single or a few years of service. Those who remain become in time accommodated to the routine.

As a teacher in the American school, the individual is subjected to a specialized group of influences. He is typically the stranger, a man apart; he is within the group though not of it. He is obligated to conform his overt behavior to the community pattern; he must teach by example as well as by precept. He is always on parade. As an outsider, and a person of superior education, he is always under suspicion. He is both feared and envied. His presence is resented; it reduces to subordination those who would not be subordinated. Envy and resentment express themselves in sneers, abuse, ridicule as exemplified on a national scale by the press treatment of the "brain trust," the introduction of a modicum of intelligence into governmental affairs. On the other hand there is the general public assumption that the teacher is a failure, his income is small and the business and other high-income classes patronize and snub him at the same time that they envy him and feel inferior in his presence. Conformity is the price the teacher must pay for his job. He accepts, at least outwardly and formally, income as a measure of relative success and may come to see himself from the point of view of the economically prosperous classes. But his work is mostly with the immature, and his contacts in the outside world are largely with nonintellectual folk. Dealing with ideas he comes to be contemptuous of those who do not or cannot think. When he does not envy the business man, he despises him as an ignoramus at the same time that he must

depend upon his tolerance and good will. His advancement, even the retention of his job, may depend less upon the quality of his work than upon his conformity to the local mores and his ability to please the men he may despise.

In the upper reaches of the educational hierarchy the highly specialized requirements and activities would tend presumably to the production of very definite personality types. The college teachers are highly selected on the basis of scholarship. They are for the most part men who consciously choose the scholarly life, and the occupational routine and association reinforces the original interest. But in the college as elsewhere in the school world, recognition and advance in rank and salary are often determined by extraneous facts. Conformity is sometimes more important than scholarship. This is especially the case in the advancement of staff members to such minor administrative positions as those of principal, director, dean, and departmental head. The preferred positions go to men who are safe, dependable, and loyal to the administration. Selection on this basis, or on any basis, cannot be without effects on the institutional development and on the personal attitudes. Superintendents and higher administrative officers are more often politicians than teachers. They are removed from the scholarly life, and the types developed are political rather than intellectual.

In these paragraphs I have indicated somewhat the nature of the problems with which fundamental research in educational sociology must be concerned. As educational sociologists would be the first to admit, perhaps to insist, the interest has been in other directions, particularly in the direction of concrete and specific problems of limited scope. This is in no sense a criticism of past or present research in the field. The point is rather that the concrete research will be even more significant as the field is mapped and the specific researches oriented in relation to general and fundamental considerations.

SOCIAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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During the opening years of the present century, the term "social education" attained considerable currency. It included two concepts. The first was largely that of a reaction against a purely individualistic theory of the child, his psychology, and classroom technique. The other was much more profound and radical, for it sought to emphasize in the curriculum those subjects and methods which might produce more definite social attitudes in the child. In short, social education was to be the measure by which social adjustment might be facilitated and some contribution to general social well-being evoked from the individual.

These early ventures into a realm which sought to ally education and sociology were stimulated to a certain extent by the contributions to an understanding of social processes from the pioneering work of men like J. Mark Baldwin, Graham Wallas and Charles Horton Cooley. Help also came from the so-called child studyists like Preyer, G. Stanley Hall, and Millicent Shinn. These studies, together with the work of sociologists in exploring the nature of social processes, gradually created what is commonly known as "social psychology." This, some of us are inclined to think, is the very heart of sociology itself; and the core of this body of scientific material is the process by which the human self or personality is built up. It is the process of social interaction by which an individual biological unit takes on the character of a human being. Some sociologists, indeed, have gone so far as to call this *the* social process. It is not necessary to go to that extreme, even while accepting the principle that it is one of the fundamental social processes.

We must humbly confess at this time that neither psychology

nor sociology nor any of the other sciences has yet plumbed the depths of human nature nor worked out its geography nor topography. It may be centuries before scientific investigation and analysis can give us a complete account of human nature and the precise processes by which it is built up and changed. Perhaps science may never be able to give us a complete and authentic account of human nature, but in the absence of this ideal completeness we already are aware of certain facts: for example, that human nature can be modified, even though slowly; that social attitudes can be changed by proper conditioning; that impulses can be starved or stimulated; that formal education is only one of the many instruments or agencies for modifying human character and human behavior.

However cautious and reticent the social scientists may be with regard to inducing certain social attitudes through educational techniques, the practical administrator and leader in the field of politics or business has seized upon this idea with avidity. Every dictator in Europe, whether communist, fascist, or Christian socialist, seizes at once the whole educational machinery of his domain and proceeds through the schools, the newspapers, the radio, the stage, music, pageantry, and popular art to place the stamp of his own set of ideas upon the plastic thought of his followers. The New Dealers in Washington commandeered the services of a small regiment of special newspaper writers to publicize their activities and thus to consolidate their position through influencing public opinion. The cigarette manufacturers of America are said to have formed a twenty-five million dollar advertising pool to capture the women's vote. How subtly and effectively they succeeded is a matter of common outrage!

Practically every writer on the new régime in Russia agrees that the success of that experiment rests not so much upon formal planning as upon ceaseless and even relentless indoctri-

nation, propaganda, and suppression of the ordinary forms of critical thinking and judgment. Much the same situation prevails in Italy, Germany, and even Austria.

We in the United States are not unacquainted with the arts of propaganda, but at the same time there is on the part of some of our political leaders a recognition that the work of creating social attitudes must go much deeper than a rather superficial temporary attitude induced by propaganda. The New Deal has brought sharply to the fore the whole question of transforming human behavior through definite social education. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace in an address to the Federal Council of Churches in December 1933 prophesied that

The social machines set up by this administration will break down unless they are inspired by men who in their hearts catch a larger vision than the hard-driving profit motives of the past . . . enduring social transformation such as the New Deal seeks is impossible of realization without changed human hearts . . . perhaps the times will have to be even more difficult than they have been during the past two years before the hearts of our people will have been moved sufficiently so that they will be willing to join together in a modern adaptation of the theocracy of old.

Perhaps the most important contribution to education in the past ten years is the recent report of the American Historical Commission on the Social Studies. The basic premise of this report was expressed earlier in "A Challenge to the Teachers of the Nation," by the Committee on Social and Economic Problems of the Progressive Education Association, drafted by Professor Counts. This premise or thesis is that capitalism is obsolescent and that we are rapidly entering upon an era of collectivism for which schools must prepare the oncoming generation. This issue was warmly debated at the sixty-fifth annual meeting of the National Education Association (Department of Superintendence) held recently at Atlantic City, although

a middle course was finally adopted, the essence of which was that teachers should confine themselves to giving pupils a clear idea of the existing social order, but without unduly emphasizing its weaknesses.

It is evident that certain new social problems on the horizon or old problems with new dimensions are forcing upon the American educator and the American sociologist renewed consideration of a better social adaptation of our educational equipment. The increasing numbers of our population in the upper-age brackets means probably more intensive productive activity during the years of employment. It probably means adult education for increased leisure; it means reëducation for industrial replacement; it means also a longer wait for young people before they will be permitted to enter industry. At both ends of the age scale reconsideration of educational content and technique is essential. Since 1880 the high-school population of the United States has jumped from one hundred thousand to the amazing figure of five million. Responsible students of the problem predict that this number will be doubled within the next few years, and also that the colleges and universities will have to carry a load several times greater than the million students now under their care.

What is to be done with this huge increase of students on the secondary and higher educational levels? I doubt whether the educator, the taxpayer, or the student himself will be satisfied with an institution which is merely an off-the-street club. It should be obvious that the old highly specialized courses and curricula will have to be modified in some, at least, of the high schools, junior colleges, and colleges. In all probability it will be necessary to transform some institutions into junior colleges and to create others. Within those colleges and high schools greater emphasis will need to be laid upon more general courses in all of the fields of learning, more emphasis upon motor

activities, and certainly more emphasis upon social values. If American educators, social scientists, and political leaders can catch this new vision, then this period of transformation and even perhaps of social revolution, with all its pain and anxiety, will not have been in vain. For the same technological changes which are eliminating adults, and particularly young people, from employment, may at the same time compel us to an understanding of what we are producing or how we can better distribute what is produced, in short, give us new social understanding and make it possible for us to transmit to youth waiting in leash for employment some realistic sense of their own relationships and responsibilities.

According to President Coffman of the University of Minnesota, the educational system of tomorrow will include general schooling of youth up through the junior-college age; college training for those of superior talent; adult education; periodical return to the university for the retraining of professional people, and training for jobless youth. I should want to add to this setup the retraining not only in technology but also in social attitudes of the regiments of men and women displaced from their jobs for technical or other reasons. On all but this latter point in such an educational forecast we have been making some progress. Indeed, the exigencies of the last few years have forced them upon us. All of these involve some idea of basic social education, for they are bound up with ideas of attitudes, motivation, adjustment, status, and control.

In my judgment, this or any other program for socializing education in the future can succeed only as it keeps in mind and actually utilizes three points of view; or, to put it in other terms, to create successfully the necessary social attitudes essential to living in the changing world about us and directly ahead of us requires three things: first, more effective methods and content in formal education itself; second, more effective con-

trol of inventions, and particularly over the new instruments of communication; and, third, continuous and even more profound research into the nature of man himself.

As I see it, the objective of an educational system for an era of social change is to secure a proper combination of stability and flexibility in the individual student. That is, education must operate between two poles, one, the fact that human experience has remained substantially the same for millenniums; the other that change is inevitable. From the educational standpoint, therefore, the end result must be that the individual shall embody certain fixed principles of conduct alongside of and related to a marginal flexibility of outlook. There are certain fundamental human qualities and attitudes without which a social order cannot exist at all. A code such as the Ten Commandments represents the crystallized social experience of ages. Those principles represent the basic pattern of individual behavior in any age and in any place, regardless of the incidents of social change. Water tends to flow downhill, whether it is in a tiny stream or a spring freshet or a Ganges flood, whether the water is clear of mud or loaded with industrial refuse. Life seeks for security, whether it is on the level of the amoeba, the worm, the kangaroo, or a Roosevelt New Dealer. Hence, the makers of school curricula and the specialists in school methods have to steer a course between flexibility and permanence, between mere passive adaptation to the past and a margin of refusal which keeps an open door towards the present and the future.

It is quite evident that the communication of mere knowledge and skills is insufficient. It ought to be equally evident that mere indoctrination with attitudes designed to force the individual to accept a given social order of the present as the only order, the right, just, and eternal order, would be suicidal. Indoctrination is inevitable, but a rational system of indoctrination would

include not only drill in knowledge and the mores, but also would include emphasis upon and practice in freedom of inquiry, tolerance, energy, and individual responsibility. One of the best American authorities on Russia, in a recent article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Postscript to Russia," after alleging that "the 4,000,000 lives deliberately lost in famine . . . outweigh the 10,000,000 tons of pig iron" produced by Russia in 1934, concludes: "Broadly speaking, my strongest feeling after living almost twelve years under a dictatorship is a very keen and lively enthusiasm for civil liberties and democratic methods of government. More than any other single cause, in my opinion, the dictatorial method has been responsible for what seems to me the utterly disproportionate cost of such progress as Russia has achieved under the Soviet system."

After all, the purpose of rational education is to produce men, not sheep, nor automatons; and a definition of man in a progressive social order includes the ideas of socialized knowledge and skills, community sense, and moral imagination.

It should be evident, therefore, that such a content and technique of education must be positive and not merely critical, for no man ever survived on a diet of negatives, or ever will. It is not enough to break down the traditional sanctions which students bring to high school and to college. To do so is likely to leave them morally naked. It is necessary for us to provide a working social philosophy which will integrate the various parcels of knowledge which the schools hand out to the student.

The ends of a progressive social order cannot be secured merely through the machinery of formal education. More and more we begin to realize how modern invention has put into our hands new potentialities for education of almost unlimited power. The newspaper, the telephone, the radio, and the moving picture are of enormous significance, not only in future potentiality but in present actuality. The broadcaster and the

movie star are just as powerful today in the molding of attitudes as the preacher or family doctor or school teacher was in earlier years. All the more reason, therefore, to be alert and secure adequate social direction and control over these new arts of communication before they get out of hand. It is time to redeem such powerful educational instruments as the cinema and the radio from their triviality, inaneity, and even debauchery. It is high time to protect the springs of information against deliberate, or even casual, poisoning by these instruments.

The radio could be adapted as a *major instrument for serious* progressive education, by boycotting everything featured by noisy advertisers. Personally, I believe that the only hope for the radio is to eliminate advertising entirely. If that cannot be done, I should establish a Federal national chain of radio stations devoted exclusively to programs of educational and recreational nature. Of course, it would be necessary for the educational agencies to get together not only to work out educational programs worthy of putting on the air, but also to study the engineering and the other techniques requisite to effective broadcasting. The necessity for such educational and recreational programs becomes all the more urgent with the increasing leisure (unfortunately, so much of it involuntary) and the increasing number of people in the upper-age brackets. The exigencies of national and international political and economic life make added demands upon sound and informed public opinion, and this is an educational field where the radio could become paramount. There is no other instrument on earth today which can so effectively bring together people to consider a matter of public policy. With all the possibilities of ignorance, stupidity, and mob mind, it is vastly more important for the public to control this means of communication in the interests of the public welfare, than it is even to control the sale of firearms to our citizens or to control the private manufacture of

arms for international warfare. Indeed, without social control over the radio, it is well-nigh impossible to protect the lives and health of our people against prejudice, intolerance, demagoguery, and other mental poisons, as well as against the hundreds of fraudulent nostrums which conscienceless advertisers try to force upon us.

Repeated studies have shown also how potent the movie may become in communicating, for example, fashions, standards of living, and race attitudes. Here again, if we are to derive the maximum educational benefit from this invention, there must be some kind of social control and rational guidance, even though they fall short of definite governmental censorship or the organized boycott of outraged decent citizens.

There is still, I believe, an enormous field for the journal of opinion, even though we may look upon the average daily newspaper as just a big hole in the ground instead of a pillar to lean upon for vital opinion and leadership. That field of leadership will continue, both for individual journals of opinion and the whole class, so long as they do not permit themselves to get into the rut of thinking and writing in formulas or become committed to covert propaganda. I still believe that it is possible to lead opinion without necessarily lapsing into propaganda. In any event propaganda is no sin. It is only the very human impulse to persuade. Propaganda becomes sin only when it is labeled news or statistics or facts.

The real and vital test, then, of our whole equipment of schools and such accessory implements for education and communication is this does it make for genuine humanism? Does it provide for that nicely adjusted working balance between acceptance of the established order and the heresy which is necessary for a progressive order? Does it, in short, make it unpatriotic to think, or does it make individual thinking, judgment, and motivation the basis of our whole active waking life?

One final point. A philosophy or program of social education for an era of rapid social change requires imperatively that man shall know himself. If this understanding of himself cannot be communicated to modern man, either through the formal processes of education or in some other way, the outlook for man on this planet is anything but hopeful or happy. Indeed, such knowledge I hold to be the price of survival, both for the individual and for civilization, especially in the West, and I am no "prophet of doom." I am simply facing the facts of individual and mass insanity involved in such disastrous phenomena as rampant nationalism, despotism, and war. As I have already indicated, in the midst of the ceaseless shifts of the mores there are ultimate eternal values, and basic among those values is the fact that man is infinitely more than a machine, an animal, or a vast storage battery of electrical energy. Man is essentially spiritual consciousness. It is interesting to observe that the most recent psychological theory, "the theory of self-consistency," breaks with the old mechanistic conception of man and adopts the nonmechanistic, which seems to be developing out of the most recent physical study of the atom. According to this theory, man must be considered as a unified living system whose behavior expresses the purpose to maintain its unity. Thus, a behaviorism or a psychoanalysis based upon material or mechanical concepts of man must be thrown overboard, and along with that rubbish we can discard the specious doctrine that our instincts are our best guides to conduct, even in the terrifying complexities of modern social life.

Our study of man must combine the analytical, experimental, and historical. As a result of this analysis and this history and this experiment we shall discover, I believe, that human civilization has been built upon human discipline of instinct, upon utilization of man's instinctive nature, not on the perversion of it. Man has never gone anywhere except down a blind alley

or over the precipice by following blind impulse. Almost I am persuaded that nature is a fool and instinct is her prophet!

No amount of clever propaganda in school or out can ever reduce man to a machine or thrust him back down the evolutionary path of the animal. We need more and more research into the real nature of man and the universe. In so far as sociology is concerned, this research must develop independent techniques which are not directly and slavishly imitative of techniques in the physical sciences nor more or less bastard crosses between philosophy and physical science. It is time for sociology to work out its own technique of research, both upon man right here and now and man's historic past. I am convinced that human history is the record of an unfolding purpose and that this purpose is to reveal the real man to himself. The function of social education in these times is to continue the heroic work of clearing out of the human mind all the rubbish which has been piled up there by ages of animal and primitive life. It will require all the combined efforts of formal education, informal education, religion, and philosophy to develop the disciplined intelligence and the spiritual consciousness which to me are the marks of socially efficient and educated men.

THE BEARING OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE FAMILY UPON EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

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The time was when the family was society's chief educational organization. Upon it was laid the task of giving the instruction that seemed necessary for tribal survival. Thus we find in the simplest societies the attempt to transmit and perpetuate the culture gathered from experience by building it into the growing minds of children, and the responsibility for doing this rested heavily upon the home. The content of this program came roughly under the teaching of technique, the giving of information, and the building of attitudes and standards. With the coming of the professional pedagogue the first two of these were withdrawn as fundamental functions of the family and became eventually the obligation of the administrators of a public-school system. As late as the pioneering days of family life in America we find the home assuming a considerable responsibility in giving the children technique and useful information. Encouraged as this was by isolation and inadequate resources, it also stressed the importance of the family at that time as an economic unit of production.

The division of responsibility for the education of children was inevitable as culture became complex and occupations highly specialized. Those parents who have undertaken to teach their children up to the high-school period, as has the author twice, realize that although the child can be taught easily and without strain, he is put out of social step and is made to seem and to feel peculiar. The same results usually follow when a professional tutor is employed. The mass education of children has become for us as a nation a cultural trait, and this is true

everywhere in the world except among the most backward of social groups.

Although this division of child instruction is socially advantageous, and perhaps it may go farther than is conventional at present, by the development of the nursery school in our public-school system, there has accompanied it the less desirable tendency to divide the life of the child and to look upon the school as an independent organization needing from the family merely approval and support. This concentration of instructional responsibility along what may best be called formal, intellectual lines has come even in the instructional activities of the schools themselves. If in place of this our educational philosophy had emphasized a complementary, coöperative opportunity for home and school working together in the early education of children, there would have developed earlier an aggressive program of adult education from the necessity of bringing to parents the resources required for the doing of their part in the mental development of the child. The trend has been unmistakably towards a greater divorcement of function, and although organizations such as the Parent-Teacher Association have developed to bring the family and the school more closely together and have proved their usefulness, educational prestige and authority have flowed only in one direction—from the school to the home—and the influence of the family upon school practices and goals has been little indeed. These parent-teacher organizations have been used to increase the interest of parents in the work of the school and to help them better to understand it, but there has been extremely little recognition of the value of parental experience in determining school goals and in working out educational technique. As a consequence, the school has overemphasized objectives that have come to have value for their significance for the system as a whole rather than because of genuine life value in the growth of the

child. This is impressed upon any one who reads without the bias of the pedagogue the requirements, year by year, in any State program for the schools.

The stress which follows regimentation in this attempt at mass achievement has actually invaded the territory left to the family and assignments are carried from the school to the home, forcing the home to surrender services it should perform for the child and to become an agency of the school. Parents, who know their children should have more leisure, more freedom from thoughts of schoolwork, and more opportunity for unsupervised and unsuggested activities, find themselves forced to allow the school to annex a portion of the time rightly belonging to family experience, since otherwise the school failure of the child becomes a penalty. If there were a reciprocal relationship of the school and home, out-of-school assignments of children would be abolished, if for no other reason than that opportunity and responsibility of the family as an educating agent may be given just recognition. The argument that homework is necessary in order to cover the ground should be without force, because in setting up the school program it should be taken for granted that in the long run it is better preparation for life not to draw up requirements that necessitate working the child out-of-school hours.

The significance of childhood lies in its being a period of growth. The body and the mind, two intertwined components of the personality, are in the process of being made. This provides the opportunity of preparation for socialized maturity. The home and the school both make use of the power to influence conduct that the prolonged human infancy period provides, but their emphasis is different. In the school it is difficult to keep attention from concentrating on the leverage childhood offers for lifting the child to his prescribed levels of formal achievement. He fails if he does not in a given time arrive at

an arbitrarily chosen accomplishment. Thus, the school is constantly tempted to treat the child as a means to an end and to estimate its success by results that do not meet the genuine needs of the child or that even produce later problems for society. The child is looked upon as a pupil, a candidate for stimulations that will mold him into a product that fits well into the educational scheme.

The teacher is often driven to be satisfied if the child carries on successfully the allotted program, with no concern as to what his inner emotional reaction may be to the tasks set before him. This is not the spirit of the best teacher, but it does describe the quality of much school instruction and the fleeting significance of much of the work of the schoolroom.

A parent may take the same attitude towards the child, but it is not the natural thing to do. The father and mother are usually impelled to see the child in greater or lesser degree as a person. The inner responses, the subjective life, become of importance to the parent the more thoroughly he feels the relationship existing between himself and his offspring. Even when the parent is chiefly attentive to the outward acts of his child, he is concerned because he assumes that this is the proper way of influencing the inner life. There are ordinarily no objective goals that are interpreted as in themselves final. Instead, attention is fastened to the building of what is vaguely but with meaning spoken of as character.

The school chiefly seeks to produce a social product, while the home, with much or little consciousness of the fact, tends towards emphasis upon building an individual. These two strivings are different in point of view but they need not be in conflict. No one expects the school to become a family or to imitate the reactions that come out of close affectionate intimacy. The waste of the school at present, however, is its failure to recognize the value of this family attitude in the educational

development of the child. There is more meaning in this than that the school is constantly accepting shadow for substance because it is so disregarding of the emotional reactions of the child to its own processes. Even interest is exploited by skilled teachers to bring the child to prescribed attainment rather than to build an abiding eagerness for a certain sort of knowledge. Unfortunately, there is the greater mistake of using one or another form of pressure, ranging from punishment to competition, to make the child a docile assimilator of school material, and strangely enough this happens even when the theory of having the school fit the child is clung to tenaciously. Thus it is that pedagogical principles and school practices get so out of accord as to make public education a vast enterprise of social day dreaming. The insignificant contribution of the science of pediatrics to education illustrates this. No reputable educator will challenge the fact that the chief business of the child is through growth to develop into the healthiest, most vital organism possible. Yet the science which deals with the problems that this growth involves has little influence upon educational policy and the school program is developed by men and women whose interests are altogether different from the biologist or the physician. If there were a way of tracing causations so that we could distribute the responsibility of the school for adult difficulties as well as for adult successes, the system of education that now exists would doubtless fundamentally change. It would appear, for example, more important that the child should be saved from nerve-tiring inhibitions and from feelings of incompetency than that he should be brought through certain formal accomplishment in a year's time. The irony of the situation is the fact that much of these requirements forced upon the child are, when looked at from the point of view of life preparation, trivial or even useless. A large portion of our mathematics and our English grammar, for example, as still taught,

illustrates how a multitude of children are put under strain to bring forth formal products that even the banker and the writer do not find worth keeping in memory.

Not only should the family influence educational policy more than it does at present, but the significance of its own contribution should be more practically realized by both parent and teacher. The emotional setting, in so far as it is a product of social circumstances, is largely in the hands of the parent, and it has an abiding life significance. There is a sense in which the parent should think of himself as the first instructor under whose influence the child comes, a teacher who needs to be a coworker with those who later take up the special task of educational responsibility in the school. Also the parent should see himself as a first-period instructor in building habits in accord with later need. Posture is an illustration of this, a personality trait of significance both for happiness and efficiency and one neglected in the home and even antagonized by the sitting and standing actually practised in the school. Even more fundamental is the building of a wholesome socialized life attitude, given elementary form in the preschool life in the family as a basis for the later elaboration of school and college.

The family cannot be institutionalized any more than it can be supplanted. The inability of the family to imitate the school must not cover up the value of the home as an educational agency either in the earliest years of childhood or throughout the period. Meanwhile, any tendency to allow the family to look to the schools to give it a parasitic relief from responsibility needs to be resisted. Instead the peculiar function of the family in the program of education should be respected not only by parents but by those who have the making and the administering of our school policy.

TWO EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

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This discussion deals with the relation of the teacher to the community and to the children under instruction. It is hoped to offer a view not too unorthodox concerning two problems on which light could be thrown by an adequate sociology. Teachers like to speak freely and often find their freedom restricted. They like to have their pupils follow the highest moral ideals and are often disappointed. Are there any known sociological principles that will throw light on the nature of these two problems or that will aid in their practical solution?

I

We wish our children to be taught those things that we want them to know. We resent being compelled to send our children to teachers who will influence them in ways distasteful to us. Our laws permit a Roman Catholic parent to reject a secular school and choose a religious one so that the instruction imparted may be in accordance with his convictions. In Fascist Italy, in Bolshevik Russia, and in Nazi Germany every teacher must be loyal to an approved philosophy of life and government. This seems very foreign to American ways of thinking, but the difference is very slight and only a matter of degree, due, perhaps to the relatively peaceful conditions under which we yet live.

Education at least in schools is for the purpose of transmitting to our children our social heritage. The school is a channel, an aqueduct through which our culture is transmitted to those who are to inherit it. Therefore what is taught in the schools is of vital concern to those who have set them up and who pay for carrying them on. If the teachers teach what the community

regards as unwholesome, the community cannot avoid protest and opposition.

The content of the teaching is in the hands of professional men and women who are skilled to impart and who are representatives of that level of culture which the community has attained. The teacher is no private individual, free to say or to do anything he may choose according to his whim. He is a trusted public official, standing in some respect *in loco parentis*, trained at public expense, chosen for a public service, and maintained at great financial sacrifice. The mores set limits to what he may appropriately do or say in his capacity as a teacher.

It will probably not be questioned by any sociologist that the mores constitute an impersonal force, never clearly formulated, always appearing as true and right, not open to debate, and not to be consciously and purposefully set up or deliberately modified. The mores change, but slowly and almost unconsciously. To offend against the mores is to ensure opposition and conflict. To argue that the mores are untenable and that the people who hold to them are illogical is to confess ignorance of a fundamental sociological truth. A young teacher was interrupted in his remarks by a girl who objected that what he had said contradicted the Bible, and quoted the passage about woman being made from Adam's rib. He answered in a sneering manner: "Nobody believes that stuff any more." His biology was undoubtedly sound, but his knowledge of the sociology of the mores was defective. He was sent to Coventry for the rest of the year and not asked to teach any more.

The question of the freedom of the teacher and his obligation to the community is one aspect of the question of the relation of the individual to society. Even the university research professor is not an isolated individual responsible only to himself. He is a favored and fortunate appointee, subsidized financially so that he need do no economically productive labor, and

permitted to subsist on the surplus of the work of other men. His very freedom is a gift of society, a society which trusts him and expects some return on the investment they have made in training and sustaining him.

For the individual apart from society is a meaningless abstraction. Human life is always essentially dramatic in the sense that we are assigned to roles which we are to play after the manner of characters on the stage. The role of a teacher is none the less a role because the lines are not written out in detail and formally agreed to, or the details of behavior minutely prescribed. As a member of the school system there are obligations and duties as well as rights of self-expression and freedom. He who keeps in mind that he is the product of an institution and the beneficiary of society will be able to subordinate his private notions, however dear, to the public good and the public peace. However informal the expectation may be, the prestige of the office is a public trust.

Nor does this principle imply any danger to truth nor any disloyalty which might be involved in its suppression. For truth, if it is fully known, can be proved. And if it is fully proved there is small danger that it will be rejected. Not truth, but unproved and unprovable opinion is the usual cause of conflict. And we must confess that in social science the body of demonstrated truth is much smaller than the total of untested opinions. Those who are most zealous in the cause of academic freedom could do the cause no greater service than to insist on the validity of the distinction.

The relation of the teacher to his community is, therefore, that of a representative whose function it is to induct the young into the social heritage which the community values. He need not be an average member, indeed, he may well be somewhat in advance of those who have chosen him. But he will not wisely scorn the mores. To do so is to invite trouble and to dis-

play at the same time an unfamiliarity with a sound sociological principle.

II

If now we turn to the relation of the teacher to the child, it would appear that the figure of the aqueduct is also appropriate here. For skill in figuring or reading does harm rather than good to the community unless the attitudes which the community approves are also imparted and strengthened. We cannot avoid the ethical results in the process of education. The teacher is neither a preacher nor a social worker, but unless the school is able to transmit approved attitudes the nation will not prosper. Struggles between the state and the church in Italy, in Germany, in France, and other countries show the importance which is attached to the schools, especially the lower schools. In American experience the issues have never been formulated in opposition. Rather have the traditions that the school is to transmit remained unformulated, that is to say, "in the mores." But we desire our children to adopt the moral and social views that we regard as important and valuable, and the school is expected to do its part and a very large part in making clear and definite and appealing the basic attitudes which are the foundation of good citizenship.

That the task is partially accomplished, no one will deny; that it is done as well as it should be, no one will contend. Juvenile delinquency is not to be laid wholly at the door of the school any more than it is to be charged up to the church or the family. But the school has its share of responsibility and much improvement needs to be made. Has sociology any contribution to make to the analysis of the difficulty or the working out of a better method?

It would seem that the theory of the primary group should be of value. For it is in those groups and associations, where

there is face-to-face association and coöperation, a sense of the whole, and a conscious feeling of "we" that we may discover the specifically human qualities actually taking their rise. It is as a member of a primary group that the virtues appear and become conscious, and it is from the members of the primary group that attitudes are taken over. Now it is an interesting fact that, while a child can hardly become a member of an adult group, the contrary is not true. An adult can become a bona fide member of a group of children. And attitudes are tender plants and will grow only in a favorable climate. They cannot be forced. Severity is fatal and aloofness futile. It is necessary to form a primary group and to keep some measure of this relation if the school is to succeed in this important function. Any procedure which alienates the teacher from the group or that tends to limit the relation to one of authority and external power results in clogging the aqueduct and impeding the transfer of the culture.

In American kindergarten practice this relation is set up and maintained with the most fortunate results. Attitudes are recommended and accepted and the influence of the teacher is at a maximum. In the American high school there is a great contrast. Open hostility is not common, and rebellion, though not unknown, is not usual. The typical result is the externalizing of the teacher, followed by the formation of primary groups composed exclusively of adolescents, often with a tradition at variance with that of the community and a minimum of access to the experience and judgment of the mature members of society of which they stand in need, but which they cannot have.

The relative complacency of the public and the school authorities is due, perhaps, to the conviction of the inevitability of this break between old and young. The out-dated notions formulated in the days when the recapitulation theory of human development was dominant still survive. The adolescent

is thought to be passing through a period of storm and stress when it is natural and inevitable that he should rebel against authority. But some sociologists at least are convinced that the cordial, close, and even intimate relation with which the teacher starts in the primary grades could be kept unbroken and would be unaltered if the nature of the primary group were clearly grasped and the discipline of the schools altered to correspond with this knowledge.

But whether this is the key or not, there is surely a key to the difficulty. If it is not now known, then it should be discovered. There is hardly a more important problem in our American life. If we could have a single generation of children brought up to know our mores and to adopt them there would be a new nation, happier and better than we have known. Juvenile delinquency has many and varied causes, but one important source which contributes to the unwanted result is the spiritual isolation between young people and their elders. It is the contention here that the break is artificial and not normal. It is not doubted that we are given the confidence and allegiance of the children to start with. It is uncontrovertible that we usually lose it to a large degree. It is arguable that the bond is never broken in the first instance by the child but rather by the erroneous procedure of the adults.

Whether we have found the solution is not so important. What is important is that the problem should be recognized as a problem. It is a problem for sociology and particularly for that branch of sociology known as Social Psychology. More investigation is needed before we can announce positive conclusions or issue definite programs. But surely the question of the effective and beneficent discipline of our children in our schools is a practical problem of the highest importance and one towards which the sociologist should be expected to make a contribution.

To fail to make the child know and accept the best ideals of his people is to deprive him of his rights. And just as the teacher who is limited in his freedom of expression feels that he has a right to protest, so the children who have been brought to withdraw from their elders or to rebel against them have a grievance none the less real because it was unconsciously inflicted and unconsciously suffered.

The children of preliterate people are more wisely reared than ours. The primary group attitude is always present and the channel of communication from old to young is ever open. The result is, at least in those most carefully studied on this point, that they can hardly be said to have a period of adolescence at all. Physical and sexual maturity is a matter of anatomy but adolescence is a stage between childhood and maturity. Pre-literates are so well integrated that the transition is from childhood to the responsibilities and fellowship of the mature. The "young people" do not rebel against the elders because there are no "young people." A boy who has been initiated into the society of men is no longer a boy but fully a man. And since the discipline of childhood is so kindly and so wise, there is an absence of the break which seems characteristic of all civilized societies.

We have a much more difficult task than any primitive community. They tend to dislike change and succeed in discouraging it. Yet much could be learned from a careful comparative study of their discipline. But whether we get the cue from pre-literates or whether we work it out by studying and experimenting, it will, it is to be hoped, be recognized as a vitally important issue.

THE PLACE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN MODERN EDUCATION

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The need for instruction regarding the processes and problems of society has been evident to leading thinkers since the world has had philosophers. Plato made it the central idea in his theory of society, giving to it the first rank in good government. Thomas More and Francis Bacon regarded research and the dissemination of social knowledge as the keystones of their theories of Utopia. Comte and Spencer both insisted upon it, the essay on *Education* by the latter still serving as a classic in the support of this theme. C. S. Henry, one of the early educational philosophers and statesmen of this country, insisted that knowledge and invention without social wisdom only made for the ultimate disintegration of civilization instead of for its advancement.¹ The chief feature of Lester F. Ward's system of sociology was his insistence that there can be no social progress without a system of socialized education. Charles A. Ellwood has contended for some thirty years that our present education is developed entirely too much from the standpoint of technology and vocation and too little from that of social needs and social welfare.²

The Great War made this truth evident even to the rule-of-thumb educators, for there we had a living example of the utilization of the vast technological resources of modern civilization against the very best ends of civilization itself and solely for the purpose of destroying millions of lives and billions of dollars worth of property in order that a few makers of muni-

¹ C. S. Henry, *Considerations on . . . Social Welfare and Social Progress* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1861)

² Charles A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, (rev ed *Social Problems and Sociology*) (New York: American Book Company, 1932), Ch. XV

tions, financiers, manufacturers, and foreign traders might make a profit out of the holocaust. Today we are paying still more severely than in 1914-1918 for this debauch of humanity, and even yet the people do not understand what is wrong with their civilization. If presidents, kings, diplomats, and congressmen know, they carefully conceal this knowledge from the public and do not allow it to take effect through legislation. Even while the temple of our civilization burns, the high priests at Washington, who have forgotten the religious creed of the common welfare, are still concerned with patches and palliatives, and especially with an attempt to pump water back into desiccated stocks as fast as it runs out. To argue the need for the teaching of the social sciences everywhere and to everybody in the face of such a situation could be necessary only in a civilization where in practice they had been utterly disregarded.^a

The basic defect in our educational theory and practice today is not that our teachers do not know how to teach (as poor as may be their technique), but that they do not know *what* to teach and that they are not always permitted to teach the facts of greatest social value when they do know them. In general, there are three great fields of subject matter that should be given adequate attention in every educational system. These are (1) vocational training, as a basis for economic and industrial efficiency and individual self-sufficiency, (2) general cultural training in such subjects as history, literature, philosophy, and science for the sake of an intelligent appreciation of the meaning of modern life and its processes, and (3) citizenship training

^a I do not know how much influence the poultry experts and other "brain trusters" who passed as social scientists have had with the present administration at Washington, but I am unwilling to believe that the President's program of bringing plenty by destroying crops and of relieving popular distress by a policy of raising prices on commodities to a speculative value level so as to save the watered stocks of the overcapitalized corporations originated in the minds of university professors—even of the grade of ability popular at Washington—until I have some proof that such is the case.

in the larger sense, which must be provided primarily through the social sciences.⁴ Of these three the last is absolutely indispensable in a democracy. We must either meet this requirement adequately or abandon our historic attempt at self-government and join the band wagon of dictatorships.⁵ Bad as they are, these dictatorships have come into existence quite frankly because the masses in these countries had been so long misgoverned (due to the fact that they did not know how to govern themselves) that individual autocrats with definite policies and courage and force of character sufficient to disregard the incompetent masses had to step into the chaos and organize it as best they could—and, with the possible exception of the Russian autocracy, for their own advantage. There is no hope of ever restoring the system of self-government in these autocracies—or here for that matter—unless the people be prepared for self-rule by making an understanding of the processes and problems of their civilization the first and an effective requirement of their education in schools, home, church, community, state, and everywhere.

This of course means the teaching of the content of the social sciences, by whatever name it may be called. We are faced immediately by the necessity of choosing between a domestic animal civilization, highly regimented and exploited, such as the dictatorships are setting up, and an intelligent self-regulating culture, based on popular education in those items of knowledge which alone can make the latter type of civilization possible. We should not play the ostrich act any longer. There is no instinct for self-government, nor any royal road to civic

⁴ See L. L. Bernard, "Vocational Factors in Democratic Education," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1919, XIV, pp. 185-188, also C. A. Ellwood, "The Fundamental Research in Educational Sociology," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September, 1934.

⁵ See Charles A. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1925), pp. 250-259, for a fuller discussion of this subject.

competence. The people must earn their freedom from slavery and domestic animal status by hard study and sincerity of social ideals, or pay the penalty.

All this implies that our present educational system does not give the instruction and training necessary to save the politico-social situation. Wherein lies the present educational defect? It is partly traditional and in large measure a matter of vested interest control. On the traditional side, we still value the cultural education of the dilettante above the practical training of the sciences, including the social sciences. We once laughed at the Chinese for their out-of-date classical type of education, but we also were at that very time repeating the aimless mathematics and logic of the Middle Ages and the classical languages and Greek mythology of the Renaissance, the finishing-school work in literature, modern language, and history prescribed for "gentlemen" and debutantes, at the expense of subjects that might have prepared our young people for life. This type of education has not disappeared. Our colleges are still dominated administratively by men who believe that mental training for the specific adjustments of life can come out of the study of Greek and Latin grammar, that it is more important to cut up one frog in a laboratory than to dissect modern civilization, or whose occupational interests are tied up with the "literary" or "pure science" type of curriculum. The colleges thus controlled dominate the high-school curricula and render them sterile of almost all but general cultural and vocational values.

And over and above all of these difficulties are the boards of trustees and boards of education who fear nothing else as much as a popular knowledge of what actually goes on in the industrial, financial, and political aspects of society. Many of these men, some of whom are notoriously corrupt, use every device to thwart any adequate teaching of the social sciences. Even where the social sciences are taught in name it is fre-

quently, if not generally, understood that the instructor must stick to "principles" and not meddle with "controversial issues." A very large number of these teachers are, by training, association, or otherwise, in close sympathy with this point of view. It is not strange that under such a situation the vast majority of the teachers in the public schools are so ignorant of the "daily bread" of democratic self-rule that they cannot serve the cause of instruction in the fundamentals, even when they have the will to do so. Add to this more or less involuntary ignorance the fact that our modern schools of education defeat the primary end of popular education by requiring so many courses on "methods" of the students they are training to be teachers that they have little or no time to learn content courses of college grade in the social sciences, and the circle of disqualifying causes is complete. With such a system of education there can be no adequate training for democratic self-rule.

But, if we could assume a society in which the masses appreciated the value of social-science education for their effective participation in public affairs and in which the actual present rulers of society would permit such instruction to be freely and fully given, what should be the nature of an effective education in the social sciences? It would, as now, be of three types. (1) a description of present conditions and trends in society, (2) the teaching of desirable social ends and ideals necessary to correct such social maladjustments as we now have, and (3) a system of social technology which, if applied, might be expected to remedy existing maladjustments and realize valid social ends. Of these three phases of social science the descriptive side is now much the best developed. On the historical side, especially in the field of political history, we have gone far towards an understanding of social relations in the past. We are now making good progress in unravelling the history of social and economic institutions. We are weakest, however, in a description of

present social life and institutions, just where we should be strongest. Where the results of contemporary description are least offensive to prejudices and vested interests, such contemporary description has been freest. In some phases of our life it has not been allowed to be made at all, or if it has been made, it has been, by one device or another, largely banned from the instructional system.

The technological aspects of the social sciences have also been fairly well developed, especially in those fields where the technologies can be utilized for material ends. But the technologies for the direct improvement of less material forms of human welfare still lag far behind. For example, the applied sciences of advertising, banking, merchandising, business organization, and "practical" politics are far better developed than those for the control of crime, the abolition of poverty, the raising of every normal person to economic, political, and personal competency, the art of good government, or city, rural, and national planning. But, most discouraging of all, we find that the best developed social technologies, such as advertising, finance, and "practical" politics, are used in the main for antisocial rather than for proper humanitarian ends. In this fact we have a close analogy to the misapplication of the wonderful modern developments of technological processes in the physical and chemical sciences, much or most of the positive achievements of technology there being used frequently for the injury rather than for the improvement of mankind.

The facts stated in the preceding paragraph are now sufficiently generally recognized that I do not need to apologize for including them in this article. Why, then, does such a misuse of technological science obtain and persist in our society? Because, in the first place, our descriptive social science has not yet informed, or been allowed to inform, everybody, through the schools or other educational systems, of this misuse of the

technologies and of the sinister forces in our society which promote their misuse for partisan, class, or other ill-advised ends. In the second place, we do not yet possess such a knowledge of wise social ends or objectives that, even if there were universal knowledge of the present misuse of technologies, we could develop and organize consistently an adequate plan of constructive betterment for society. In the third place, we should need to develop a great deal more scientific technology than we now have in the social sciences in order to put a constructive and well-chosen plan of social betterment into action. The greatest of these three problems is that of the development of adequate and scientific social ends or objectives. With reference to this matter there is a great deal of prejudice. Two numerically important groups even deny the possibility or the legitimacy of applying science to such problems. Let us examine this question briefly.

There seem to be three ways of formulating social ends or objectives. One method is to discover them from tradition. This is the method used by the great historic religious philosophies of mankind. They find all legitimate social ends either taught or implied in a sacred literature or in a creed; and the more orthodox the religion is the less likely it is to tolerate social objectives arrived at scientifically. Where revelation is invoked as a sanction for stated social objectives, this source may be classed with tradition, since all respectable revelations are now traditional. A second source of posited social objectives may be called the moronic, since it is to be found in the current mores, as distinguished from tradition. The moronic school of sociologists are firm adherents of the descriptive phase of sociological science and they loudly and persistently declare that when we depart from description, that is, from the mores, we enter the field of speculation, which is not science at all. I take it that the proper answer to the moronic school is that their

contention is neither true nor to the point, but is hopelessly blinded by a moronic conception of things. By way of which contention I shall use an illustration which I employed more than fifteen years ago to enforce the same point.⁶

An engineer, employed to build a bridge, would not use the descriptive method merely in determining what sort of bridge he would construct for any particular occasion. If he took the average or mean of all the bridges he knew and then made one to conform to this statistically descriptive generalization, there would be no guarantee whatever that his bridge would fit the river or carry the traffic load required. This is the moronic method of building bridges, comparable to the method of determining social objectives from a study of the mores. Descriptive analysis would be useful in bridge building, for it would show the engineer what had already been done and give him many detailed hints for use in the present bridge. But the building of each bridge is a problem in invention, not merely in description, and the more unusual and difficult the new bridge is to build, the more it is a problem of projective instead of empirical invention.⁷ That is, it is a problem of the scientific integration of mathematical symbols in a legitimately logical manner, instead of in accurate description of concrete phenomena, *i.e.*, the engineer must create an ideal of a bridge exactly adapted to meet the requirements of this particular river and of this particular traffic load, in the manner described in the article on invention cited herewith, before he can make a good bridge for the time and place out of material substances.

I have taken this example of the engineer building a bridge instead of a sociologist building an institution, because it so happens that if ideals can be proved legitimate necessities to engineers they may the more readily become respectable (for

⁶ See "The Objective Viewpoint in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXV, 1919, pp. 298-325.

⁷ See L. L. Bernard, "Invention and Social Progress," *Ibid.*, July, 1923

they are not now respectable!) among sociologists. No one will deny that the engineer is strictly scientific in following the method here described in building his bridge, although he is not a "pure" scientist. In fact, it seems that "pure" science is never worth much until it becomes contaminated with practice or application. This is a fact that all the great scientists have recognized, I believe. The engineer is as much an idealist as the social scientist. But all ideals, to be of any value in practice, must be built upon the logic of science, must in fact be true projective inventions, and not mere moronic or traditional deductions from popular beliefs and customs. The conclusion is that the projection of social objectives or ends can be as scientific as any other production of science, but it is of course the most difficult and abstract of all scientific processes.

But there still remains a serious problem for the social scientist and for the educator. Suppose we have solved the problem of formulating legitimate social objectives. How can we get them adopted and put into practice by the people? That is peculiarly the task of the teacher and of other educational agencies. The social and educational psychologists can supply the educator with the method for this educational process. In fact, few phases of social technology are now better known, or more frequently misused, than that of conditioning in the subject any sort of desired response, good or bad. Once it is made clear to the masses of mankind that they have much to gain by adopting the social-welfare ends derived and proposed by the social scientists they will immediately suppress all lying propaganda for other ends and adopt those promoting their own interests. But it is impossible to convince the masses until there is at least as much freedom for the expression of scientific facts as there now is for the promulgation of lying propaganda. This, too, is a problem which can be solved only with the aid of social science. Space is lacking for the presentation of such a concrete program for social-science education as might be reasonably expected to accomplish the ends set forth here. This analysis will be offered elsewhere.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

N. E. A. RESEARCHES, JANUARY TO JUNE, 1935

Of great interest to educational sociologists are the publications of the Research Division of the National Education Association, issued from January to June 1935¹

"Education stands at the threshold of a period of reconstruction. It will not suffice to rebuild what has been destroyed—to regain what has been lost. Fundamental changes must be introduced so that the school may have a vital part in the social and economic readjustments now in progress." This quotation is from the foreword of the January *Research Bulletin* which deals with one phase of the problem of reconstruction—the provision of suitable schoolhousing facilities. Entitled "The Nation's School Building Needs," this issue gives a general overview of the school building situation at the present time, and points out the unusual opportunity that school building construction offers to stimulate economic recovery through permanent and socially desirable public-works projects.

Another problem of educational reconstruction is restoring the compensation of teachers to a professional basis. The findings of the March *Research Bulletin* show a continuing decrease in the salaries paid in most city school systems. This survey of the salaries of school employees for the school year 1934-1935 is the seventh biennial report issued, and presents data on

¹ This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Dr. William G. Carr, Director, Research Division, National Education Association.

almost 400,000 school employees in 1,989 cities. The facts in it should form the basis for State and local studies to develop adequate and equitable salary schedules for teachers.

A third phase of educational recovery is that of improving and vitalizing the curriculum, and of preparing individuals for complete living. Social-economic education must be recognized as an essential part of the educational program. Some schools and school systems have developed noteworthy programs of social and civic training. As a first step in the direction of providing a central finding-list of such schools, a report has been prepared by the Research Division for the Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America (Fred J. Kelly, chairman) and simultaneously issued as the *May Research Bulletin*. In order to secure an overview of present practices, the bibliographic method was followed. The report therefore consists of a descriptive bibliography of social-economic education in 170 schools and school systems, 1928-1935.

In November, 1934, the Research Division issued a series of statements describing briefly the school revenue and apportionment systems of ten States through June, 1934. In January, 1935, a second pamphlet appeared describing the systems of financing public elementary- and secondary-school systems in fifteen additional States. This series entitled "School Finance Systems" is prepared with the coöperation of authorities on school finance in several States.

The Research Division has also continued to coöperate in an editorial and consultative capacity with regard to the publications of certain departments of the National Education Association. Current issues of the *Review of Educational Research* published by the American Educational Research Association comprise these titles:

1. "Psychology and Methods in the High School and College" Vol. 4, No. 5, December, 1934.

2. "Special Methods and Psychology of the Elementary School Subjects." Vol. 5, No. 1, February, 1935
3. "Finance and Business Administration." Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1935.

The Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence entitled "Social Change and Education" was issued in February. It recognizes a need for a presentation of social thinking that will help bridge the gap between theoretical discussions of society and the practical demands of the classroom. The yearbook is therefore neither a treatise on sociology nor an outline of a social-studies curriculum. The first seven chapters review the nature of recent social trends and summarize the efforts of society to adjust to change. The other eight chapters point out some of the implications for education of social and economic adjustments.

The Educational Research Service, maintained by the Research Division and the Department of Superintendence, has issued these circulars in 1935:

1. "Education Discussed in Lay Magazines," Circulars Nos. 1 and 4, 1935. These two summaries of articles in noneducational magazines cover the period from December 1, 1934, to April 1, 1935.

2. "Teachers' Salaries in Suburban School Systems, 1934-35." Circular No. 2, March, 1935. The larger part of the circular consists of a detailed tabulation reporting on median salaries and certain other statistics, for all cities in the forty-six metropolitan districts on which the figures are available. Table 2 gives corresponding information for nonsuburban school systems in cities below 100,000 in population which subscribe to the Educational Research Service.

3. "State School Legislation, 1934." Circular No. 3, 1935. This circular is a digest of legislation arranged according to nine topics.

4. "Recent Trends in Public Educational Expenditures and Other Governmental Expenditures." Circular No. 5, April, 1935. This circular brings together certain recent findings concerning expenditures for public education and the combined expenditures for other governmental services.

BOOK REVIEWS

Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime, by BEN KARP-MAN. Washington: Mental Science Publishing Company, 1933, 1,042 pages.

This unusual volume contains a detailed history and analysis of five cases of psychotic criminals. The author feels that while we know much as to "how" crimes are committed, we know little as to "why" they are committed, know little of the inner mental life of the criminal that provides the dynamic for his career. The author feels, further, that much of what we think we know is erroneous, having been built upon superficial interviews and histories which have failed to penetrate the verbal defenses of the criminal. He believes one corrective for this situation to lie in detailed psychogenetic studies of individual criminals. The material presented is a step in this direction. The studies, presented in wholly nontechnical language, and with a minimum of interpretation by the author, are excellent source material for students of delinquency and crime. A second volume, *The Individual Criminal*, is to follow, which will deal with the same materials in an analytic fashion.

Self-Measurement Projects in Group Guidance, A Laboratory Course for Pupils in the Study of Individual Differences, by RICHARD D. ALLEN. New York: Inor Publishing Company, 1934, 274 pages.

As Volume III of the Inor Group-Guidance Series, this book will serve as an excellent manual for counselors and teachers in a relatively new and basic phase of secondary education. The author's contribution to the philosophy and practice of guidance in public-school education is well known. After succinctly setting forth the advantages of self-measurement as a *group-guidance technique*, Dr. Allen develops sixty-three projects appropriate for junior- and senior-high-school pupils. Details of procedure for each project are outlined under the following headings: preparation of the counselor, suggestions for motivation, administration of the test, issues and implications, possible by-products.

European Policies of Financing Public Educational Institutions, by FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT. Berkeley. University of California Publications in Education, Vol 8, No. 2, Czechoslo-

vakia, pp. 181-250, No. 3, Austria, pp. 251-344, 1934.

Professor Swift's series of monographs constitutes an authoritative and timely contribution bearing on one of the major problems of education everywhere and at all levels. Thus far, reports on France, Czechoslovakia, and Austria have been issued, to be followed by others on England and Germany. Teachers will find the data on salary schedules, living subsidies, promotions, and pensions of special interest. Superintendents will be interested in the distribution of enrollment and budget through various divisions of the school system. Board members will be concerned with sources of school funds. Educators, intent on an equitable spread of school opportunities, will learn how centralized aid and supervision are balanced with local support and administration. Students of comparative education value these studies highly both for their brief introductory statements on the organization and special problems of the system, and for the exact data on school finance, which determine to a certain degree the effectiveness of each educational system.

Human Sex Anatomy, by ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1933, 145 pages.

An atlas of human sex anatomy, containing 175 figures with accompanying summary text, and covering the entire anatomy of sex and reproduction. Based upon a large number of clinical examinations and measurements, this volume is the first authoritative work in its field and should take its place among the classics of anatomy. It will prove indispensable not only to the physician who specializes in genito-urinary practice, but also to physicians and psychiatrists who deal with marital maladjustments.

Human Exploitation, by NORMAN THOMAS. New York: Fredricks A. Stokes Company, 1934, 402 pages.

The book is an extensive, rather than intensive, study of the way the profit motive works in the United States. It is a story of the exploitation of farmers, workers, and the general consumer. It is a vivid presentation of the waste of invaluable human and material resources. The book also includes a brief though comprehensive treatment of the child-labor question and of discrimination against the Negro.

Aids to Historical Research, by JOHN MARTIN VINCENT. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934, 173 pages.

This volume is modeled on the author's *Historical Research* published in 1912 and reprinted in 1929. The new book is half the size of the old and therefore treats in rather summary fashion the problem of historical research, directing attention, as the title indicates, to the various auxiliary sciences such as diplomatics, palaeography, heraldry, and geography. The volume opens with a short chapter defining history and closes with a chapter on historical evidence. It forms one of the volumes in the Century Historical series and is undoubtedly designed as a companion volume to Dow, *Principles of a Note System for Historical Studies*.

Measurement in Radio, by FREDERICK H. LUMLEY. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1934, 318 pages.

This book is to the student of radio listening what *Robert's Rules of Order* is to the parliamentarian. One important exception should be noted—*Measurement in Radio* does not pretend to the finality of parliamentary procedure. That is well as the book makes clear that measurement in radio is complex and has no precedents or conventional procedure that warrant final pronouncements.

Measurement in Radio represents an immense amount of fact finding and, what is even more important, interpretation. The author wisely makes clear the distinction between the purposes of educators and of advertisers in broadcast surveys. The book is replete with accounts of the different survey methods and is conspicuously candid in admitting the need of additional methods of measuring listeners' reactions. The necessity of further research in determining the effects of different kinds of programs is clearly presented and the desirability of comparative studies related to radio listening, reading, discussion, face-to-person lecturing, and personally guided study is obvious. *Measurement in Radio* deserves a high place in the library of every serious student of radio.

Introduction to Rural Sociology (revised edition), by CHARLES RUSSELL HOFFER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934, xiv+500 pages.

In this revision of the original text published in 1930, the author has made wide use of recent studies and developments in rural life. Organizations for rural children and youth, health, recreation, and adult-education agencies, and institutions such as the family, the church, and local government are presented both in terms of present

programs and of potentialities. Study questions and well-selected bibliographies are included. This book is of value both as a text and as a source book for all interested in the rural community.

A History of National Socialism, by KONRAD HEIDEN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934, 438 pages.

An authoritative and objective study of the background of German Fascism by one who has been a close observer of the movement from its very beginning—first as a student at the University of Munich during the years of 1920-1923 and finally as correspondent of *The Frankfurter Zeitung* up to 1930, stationed both at Munich and Berlin. The book was originally published in Germany in 1932 but was brought up-to-date for the American edition in September 1934.

Principles of Sociology, by FREDERICK C. LUMLEY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935, 461+xiii pages.

This is an extensive revision of the author's earlier textbook. The plan of the book is shown in the definition of sociology as "the scientific study of social relationships, their variety, their forms, whatever affects them and whatever they affect." It is divided into four major sections: the approach, social processes, social organizations, and social change and social control.

It is clear in organization, rich in source material and pertinent illustrations, and concise and fluid in style.

Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences, by TRUMAN L. KELLEY AND A. C. KREY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

Students of the social sciences are obviously not pleased with the progress of measurement in this field as compared with that in other fields. So inadequate were the tests that had been constructed, that the committee authorized the construction of new instruments for measuring student progress in the social sciences. The volume under review gives a careful description and appraisal of these tests.

While this report on tests and measurements has merit in the data assembled and analyzed, one cannot but regret that a larger fund was not available to make possible the construction of more acceptable instruments of measurement for the nonfactual objectives of the social

studies based on controlled experimental procedures. Progress has been made at least in the degree that earlier conclusions regarding the utility of new-type tests have been abandoned.

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- Abstracts of Studies in Education at the Pennsylvania State College*, by CHARLES C. PETERS. State College, Pa.: Pennsylvania State College.
- Adult Interests*, by EDWARD L. THORNDIKE. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Catholic Church in Action*, by MICHAEL WILLIAMS. New York. The Macmillan Company.
- Challenge of Leisure*, by ARTHUR NEWTON PACK. New York. The Macmillan Company.
- Challenge to Death*, edited by STORM JAMESON. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.
- Character in the Making*, by PAUL F. VOELKER. Lansing, Michigan. E. M. Hale Company.
- Child Psychiatry*, by LEO KANNER. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.
- Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria*, by STUART COOPER DODD. Beirut, Lebanon Republic, American Press.
- Cooperative Curriculum Revision*, Report of Superintendent of Public Schools. Wilmington, Delaware Board of Public Education.
- Economic Consequences of the New Deal*, by BENJAMIN STOLBERG and WARREN JAY VINTON. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Education for an Age of Power*, by JOSEPH K. HART. New York. Harper and Brothers.
- Family and Society*, by CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN and MERLE E. FRAMPTON. New York D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.
- Family Book*, edited by GWEN ST AUBYN. London Arthur Barker, Ltd.
- Gestalt Psychology*, by GEORGE W. HARTMAN. New York. Ronald Press Company.
- Government Control of the Economic Order*, edited by BENJAMIN E. LIPPINCOTT. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press.
- Integration of Adult Education*, by WILLIAM H. STACY. New York.

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Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk, by MILDRED
B. THUROW. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experimental Station.
- Interviewing in Social Work*, by PAULINE V. YOUNG. New York:
McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- International Council for Exceptional Children*, Addresses delivered
at the Thirteenth Annual Convention, 1935. Baltimore: OLIVE
A. WHILDIN, Supervisor of Special Education.
- International Organizations in Which the United States Participates*,
by LAWRENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- Introduction to Physiological Psychology*, by GRAYDON LAVERNE
FREEMAN. New York: Ronald Press Company.
- Introductory Sociology for Teachers*, by DAVID SNEDDEN. New York.
Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Making Our Minds Behave*, by WILLIAM S. WALSH. New York.
E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.
- Modern Goliath*, by MILTON ANDERSON. Los Angeles: David Press.

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EDITORIAL

In attempting to deal with human problems it has become increasingly apparent that we must look at the child and understand more fully the nature of his development under varying conditions. Intelligent social planning for children in the future must have the benefit of basic insights made possible by research work. With a view towards stimulating important and timely researches in the child field and towards providing a means by which the child-development researchers in any one discipline can get acquainted more readily with what those in other disciplines are doing, the Society for Research in Child Development was recently founded.

But what may be expected from sociological studies in the child field? What distinctive contributions can sociologists make? What methods and points of view can they most profitably apply to child-development studies in the future? These were questions a representative group of sociologists tried to answer at the first meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development. E. W. Burgess and Walter C. Reckless were asked to act as chairman and secretary of the sociology section of the Society's initial meeting and were commissioned to organize the section program.

The papers by Reuter, Foster, Dollard, Loomis, and Smith were therefore read before the sociology section of the Society for Research in Child Development at its first meeting, November 3-4, Washington, D. C.

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The statement of the reasons for founding the new scientific body and what may be expected of it is made by Mr. Lawrence K. Frank, to whom we are greatly indebted for his active interest in the organization of the Society. Its very founding indicates that no one scientific discipline owns the concession to make studies of the child and that there is room for researches representing many different approaches.

We had planned for the inclusion of a statement by E. W. Burgess, who was chairman of the sociology section of the Society's first meeting, but circumstances made it necessary for the secretary to act in substitute capacity.

It is hoped that persons of sociological training and interest will divert more and more of their research efforts to studies which have a direct bearing on child development. If in the future sociologists can call attention to many significant and excellently done studies in this field, the faith that the founders of the Society for Research in Child Development had in them, by including them in the fellowship of more highly developed disciplines, will be amply rewarded.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

THE SOCIETY FOR RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

LAWRENCE K. FRANK

The suggestion that another professional society be organized is justly met with protests by those who point out that we are already oversupplied with professional associations that call for money and time. The case for the newly organized Society for Research in Child Development rests in large part upon this justifiable attitude towards professional organizations but draws its major justification from the fact that the professional organizations for members of the different disciplines are no longer adequate to the professional needs of today. This is especially true in the life sciences, where the problems of real moment today demand the joint attention of a variety of the different disciplines, if any real work is to be done on them.

The new Society is an attempt to provide a professional association in which all those who are concerned with the study of children can find an opportunity for pooling their needs and interests with representatives of other disciplines also engaged in studying children. The impetus to the Society's organization came from the realization that today many of the pediatricians, anatomists, physiologists, endocrinologists, psychologists, sociologists, nutritionists, and others are unable to find within their own professional groups and meetings opportunities for critical discussions of questions of child research and, therefore, they are ready to cut across departmental lines to join with a group that has as its primary concern the advancement of our knowledge of child development. This intention was explicitly shown in the calling of a group of individuals representing the different disciplines to sponsor the new society and was officially confirmed in formally organizing the new society with a governing council chosen from different professional groups; namely, Dr. Richard E. Scammon, anatomy, Dr. Henry F.

Helmholz, pediatrics; Dr. E. V. McCollum, nutrition and biochemistry; Dr. R. S. Lynd, sociology; Dr. Adolf Meyer, psychiatry; Dr. George D. Stoddard, chairman-elect, child psychology; Dr. Carroll E. Palmer, secretary-treasurer, biometrics; and Lawrence K. Frank. Dr. R. S. Woodworth is the first chairman of the Society.

With such widespread representation in the directorate and in the membership, the Society has before it an opportunity to show what a professional association can do in the way of furthering research through the performance of a variety of much needed services. In the first place it is expected that the Society will serve as a medium of communication to the members of research findings and methods through publications. The *Child Development Abstracts* will be continued in response to a clear-cut demand from the members who find in this journal a convenient and economical way of keeping in touch with the current research journals, many of which would rarely, if ever, be read in full. The abstracts, therefore, make it possible for the specialists in any one field to know something about the character of investigations and the methods employed by other specialists. It is also expected that the Society will inaugurate a monograph series in which will be published for rapid and economical distribution both original research and critical reviews that will be of interest to the membership. The monographs will in no sense compete with or replace existing publications but will be dedicated to the publication of studies that are longitudinal; i.e., cumulative studies of children over a period of years, and/or multi-discipline studies. The multi-discipline studies especially will be favored since they do not readily fit into the existing single-discipline publication arrangements. The critical reviews bring to the membership something of a well-considered examination of the methods and findings of the different life sciences that may be utilized in the study of child development.

The Society also serves the interests of its members through conferences and meetings that will, as far as possible, be organized primarily for the exchange of ideas, appraisal of results, and discussion of research needs and plans. With this in mind, the Society hopes to foster small professional conferences wherein the perplexing problems of methodology and procedure can be talked over, informally but practically, with a view to the formulation of recommendations for research. Here it should be emphasized that the Society is in no sense attempting to legislate or to regiment research but rather to encourage group discussions and the thinking of competent individuals whose recommendations should prove valuable as indicating fruitful and reliable procedures.

With the same purpose in mind, the Society will attempt to organize its biennial meetings as distinctly research conferences rather than as one more annual meeting with a string of papers and limited discussions. It is believed that the presentation of papers can be advantageously left to the annual meetings of the various professional associations and that the Society's meetings can, therefore, be addressed to this other task. In considering ways and means of carrying out such an intention it has been pointed out there is no real advantage in inviting the pediatrics group, for example, to a meeting where they talk to each other as they do in their own professional association. Rather it is emphasized that the pediatricians want to talk with the anatomists, psychologists, nutritionists, and the others about those questions where the judgment and experience of the other specialists will be of very direct value to the pediatricians both in research and clinical work, or where the pediatricians desire to make their own findings known to the other specialists. In general, it has been pointed out that every specialist in the child-research field is continually being faced with questions of methods, procedures, and the handling of data that are the more

direct concern of another group of specialists with whom he can and should be able to carry on mutually advantageous and enlightening discussions.

This basic policy and intention also indicates the possibility for further service insofar as the Society can bring together these different specialists to formulate plans and procedures for the guidance of various agencies which have immediate responsibility, not for research, but for the education, care, and protection of children. It is evident that the publicly supported agencies such as schools, health services, clinical services, and the like are in a position to accumulate valuable material on the development of children whom they are examining, testing, measuring, and treating, if some competent group would formulate plans that could feasibly be worked into the existing procedure. Such a task would be appropriate for the Society and might have the indirect effect of giving the professional men and women engaged in this administrative work an additional incentive and impetus through participation in scientific enterprises and through contact with research personnel. Moreover, the advice and judgment of the Society's membership may be of far-reaching value to the welfare of children reached through these public agencies. If the growing interest in the adolescent is carried forward into the formulation of new programs for the education and care of youth, this interaction between research interests and practical interests may have highly significant consequences for future social policies in this area because the child-research point of view will serve to emphasize both the extraordinary possibility for constructive work and the amazing neglect of developmental needs in the second decade.

Enough has been said to indicate the hopes that gave rise to the organization of this new society and various possibilities of constructive activities that will be of widespread interest and value. Perhaps a word more would be appropriate about the

growing concern with child development and child nurture as indicative of certain social trends. With the declining birth rate and the consequent stabilization of the population, the individual child not only will require more careful nurture but will merit more intelligent planning for his or her development. The increasing inability of the home and church and other social agents to work each in isolation from the others, and the increasing perplexities about the wisest procedures for the care of children are forcing the consideration of programs that at once recognize the many needs of the growing child and at the same time look to the principle of coördination, or perhaps a better word would be orchestration, of agencies and specialists to meet those needs in a manner more conducive to wholesome development. Herein we see the flowing together of two hitherto distinct points of view and interests: on the one hand, we have had the disciplines interested primarily in the study of aggregates and large groups, with the individual, as such, ignored in the interests of generalizations and norms; and, on the other hand, we have had the clinical group concerned with the individual and giving little attention to the group characteristics which he shares to a greater or less extent. Out of the meeting of these two points of view is coming a much more significant conception of individual variability and a keener understanding of the necessity for seeing the individual with all of his variabilities against the background of the larger aggregate. These ideas may have considerable influence on our future thinking and to the extent that the study of child development serves to illuminate their potentialities as well as their limitations, such studies may make large contributions to the development of the life sciences in general. At least we may say that those interested in the study of child development with particular emphasis on the longitudinal or cumulative aspects of individual growth of an organism growing up in a culture are concerning themselves with problems involving the future of biological and social research and social planning.

AN EVALUATION OF THE SUBJECTIVE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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It will be granted without argument that there is nothing esoteric about method as such. The term refers to the general procedure by which results are achieved, the general plan followed in getting something done. At most it is a type of strategy, an organization of ways and means to the accomplishment of a definite task. In research it refers to the means by which conclusions are derived from data. There is nothing about research method that is sacred per se, nothing in method itself to justify the somewhat reverential attitude that students sometimes assume towards it. Nor is there any patent superiority of one procedure over others that will account for the patronizing attitude that those who manipulate certain techniques sometimes assume towards those who exploit others.

It will also be granted without argument that all research method, in any fundamental sense, is subjective. The visualization of a problem, the plan of attack, the selection of tools, the observation of phenomena, the choice of pertinent data, the seeing of relations, the discovery of ways by which nonobvious relations may be made apparent are among the major steps in research procedure and each is a subjective item. The whole procedure of fundamental research from observation through selection and classification to inference and conclusion, as well as the seeing of the abstract and general in the concrete and specific, the advance from empirical observation to principle and law, is one of constructive imagination and logical thought.

When distinction is made between objective and subjective, reference is generally had to something other than method. There are, to be sure, especially in relation to certain routine

problems of administrative investigation on an empirical level, some standardized and formal procedures that are more or less generally applicable and whose manipulation requires a minimum of imagination and judgment. There is also a varied group of tools and techniques, sometimes confused with research method, that are useful or even essential to certain types of research procedure. Some of these, as the microscope, the telescope, and the camera, are aids to observation. Others do service in later stages of methodological procedure the statistical technique, for example, as all of the mechanical devices incident thereto, is an indispensable tool in dealing with certain orders of phenomena. But I take it we are here interested in method rather than in the technical tools and devices by means of which research procedures are carried on. And method is, quite obviously, secondary to other things. The natural order seems to be that a body of information desired sets a problem. The nature of the problem, in turn, determines the types of data and the procedures appropriate to its analysis and solution. The means are incidental to the task in hand, that is, to the types of information desired and to the nature of the data available for examination. The basic distinctions appear to be between types of problems and types of data rather than between types of method.

The only evidences of personality and the only data bearing upon it are forms of behavior in specific situations. On the basis of empirical data it is possible to set up a dichotomy that is at least superficially valid. Certain social and personal facts have a greater degree of objectivity than seems to be the case of other human facts. Marriages, deaths, migrations, violations of law, and the like have a kind of objectivity which is absent in such phenomena as group solidarity, personal resentment, social attitudes, and the like. If the objectivity is not more real, it is at least more patent in the one type of reality than in the other.

In the one case the behavior is readily observable, easily recorded, and definitely measurable; the facts may be enumerated, classified, correlated, or manipulated otherwise in a purely objective way; they may be used without being in any way contaminated by the intrusion of subjective elements into the procedure; observation, description, and conclusion may proceed without speculation, without theory, and without interpretation, guided only by the facts as they are revealed. In the other case the behavior facts are elusive, ill defined, and reluctant to quantitative treatment.

Subjective methods seem to refer to the technical and logical procedures appropriate to the study of personal documents and other material where the objects of interest appear in disguise or in combination rather than in isolation and purity. The reference is to conversations, interviews, case records, life histories, biographies, autobiographies, confessions, diaries, personal letters, and the more or less naïve and informal sources of information of an abstract, general, and timeless nature may be derived from them.

The general problem towards which the subjective methods are oriented is one of meanings, of insight into and understanding of the subjective aspects of human nature. The students who work by the so-called subjective methods and with so-called subjective documents are deliberately, consciously, and frankly seeking to understand rather than merely to record, tabulate, and correlate.

But we understand only those things that have meaning. Empirical facts do not tell their own story; they must be interpreted if, indeed, every fact is not an interpretation. The student is committed to the position that no significant body of observation can be collected without guiding hypotheses. Facts of behavior have no meaning except as they are related by some unifying principle, except as they may be fitted into some sys-

tem. Understanding, insight, comprehension—what term you will—comes from seeing the individual and concrete in relation to some whole. Acuteness of insight, the ability to relate, is in its very nature subjective. It is also the characteristic mark of the scientist as distinct from the routine worker in the field of science; it is the very essence of science as distinct from the mechanics and routine of research procedure.

A chief source of failure in subjective research, that is, in much work on personal documents, lies in its unrelated nature, in the fact that it is not brought within any tenable conceptual system. Often the raw empirical data are presented more or less in common-sense terms. At other times, relation is made to an untenable conceptual system or to one in which the phenomena do not fit. The latter seems to be one of the major fallacies in a great range of social psychological work on personality.

Nothing, for example, would seem to be more evident in the whole body of social psychological literature of child study than that the essential problems involved are not psychological and that psychology has no technique for dealing with them. Some part of the present confusion lies in the fact that much that is called and believed to be psychological study of personality is, in reality, a study of certain forms of interaction and lies outside the province of the trained psychologist. Critical examination of the terms and concepts in common use in the psychological literature reveals many of them to be purely sociological in essence. For example, of the four traits of personality which the *Bernreuter personality inventory* purports to measure—neurotic temperament, self-sufficiency, introversion, and dominance—certainly the last three, and possibly the first, are types of interaction. The terms and concepts show the psychologists' appreciation of the overwhelming importance of the social aspects of personality—dominance, submissiveness, self-assertion,

self-sufficiency, introversion, extraversion, honesty, deceit, coöperation, leadership, inhibition, and so through a long list are not psychological terms. The psychological "types" of the various schools, such as those of Kretschner and Jaensch, are of significance only in the field of interaction with others. The psychiatric concepts are of course clearly social as, for example, the notion of inferiority on which the Adler system is based, inferiority is manifest and of significance only in a social situation.

In spite of this fact, the typical and routine procedure is to relate the facts of behavior and the data of observation to a conceptual system in which they do not fit and where their meaning is effectively concealed. The grossest expression of this lack of insight is, perhaps, in current enumeration and measurement of personality traits.

The craze for the enumeration and measurement of personality traits seems to be, on the one hand, a revival in a new form of the older Victorian faculty psychology and, on the other hand, a somewhat noncritical acceptance and adaptation of the intelligence-testing procedure.

It is not my intention to enter into any detailed criticism of the "traits" as such, nor of the assumptions involved in their use, nor of the validity of the results in the heavy reports resting on the refined measurements and correlations of these undefined and variously labeled artificial particles. I am interested rather in the essential fallacy, that is, in the assumption that personality may properly be studied and understood by any system of measurements of the properties of individual personalities.

I quote from an unpublished paper of a co-worker.

The fundamental nature and processes involved in the phenomenon called personality are no more to be understood in terms of the inherent properties or traits than the fundamental processes involved in the falling of bodies is to be understood in terms of their weights, forms,

specific gravities, or other inherent properties. The efforts to understand personality and to discover the basic laws which govern it, by means of elaborate and careful methods for determining and measuring its traits and properties, are the equivalent of devising careful and painstaking methods for determining the weight and other properties of falling bodies in order to arrive at the laws governing their process of fall.

This is by no means to say that the inherent properties of the interacting organism, whether it is a stone or a personality, play no part in the resulting behavior in the specific instance. It makes a great deal of difference in the behavior of fall whether a one-pound weight is condensed into a one-inch cube or flattened out so as to cover a square yard of area. But the fundamental law in terms of which the process is to be understood is the same in either case. So with the study of personality, the fundamental laws will be found in the processes of interaction, but the behavior of individuals will show, in addition to such fundamental processes, the results of specific physiological or psychological conditions prevailing at the time.

Behavior of given subjects under given conditions is all that can be observed and studied. It is for that reason that May says "In all this work the guiding formula should be that personality can be most easily and most scientifically measured by taking samples of behavior." (Mark A. May, "Problems of Measuring Character and Personality," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1932, p. 131-143.) This is of course true, but, having sampled it, to what conceptual whole shall we relate the isolated instances—to a concept of the properties of the personality, or to that of the interaction of the personality with others? The first procedure kept physics barren of results for two thousand years; it will leave personality study barren of results as long as it is persisted in.¹

Objectively viewed the work of the psychologist has emphasized, unwittingly perhaps, the dominant importance of the social aspects and significance of personality. It is the problem of the sociologists to develop a set of techniques and a conceptual system, particularly a conceptual system, adequate to the research problems. As a first step there is needed a frank recognition of the necessity of utilizing and developing the sub-

¹ Jessie R. Runner, unpublished manuscript

jective concepts and techniques of the discipline offering the best chance of success in the interpretation and control of personality.

The immediate question is, what are the units into which the sociologist can analyze personality and what are the unifying principles in terms of which he can relate the facts of behavior in such a way as to explain and interpret these facts. It is only as the facts are analyzed into abstract units and these related to some conceptual whole that the facts themselves will have any meaning. A candid and critical evaluation of current research which uses subjective materials must emphasize the paucity of the conceptual equipment. This may be due in some part to the fact that workers do not always make the most of such theoretical framework as is available, but it also is due in some part to the fact that the framework itself is not altogether adequate. In the present stage of procedure one fruitful hypothesis—one idea—is worth more than a library of concrete investigations and reports.

OBJECTIVE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH GENERALLY APPLICABLE TO CHILD-DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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We should recognize at the outset that some investigators emphasize the distinction between objective and subjective more than others do. Strictly speaking, there are no objective and subjective absolutes. There are degrees of objective-subjectivity. This is particularly true in social-science research. The fundamental problem is one of objectifying the subjectivity of the researcher.

I have not assumed the subject of my paper to include theoretical aspects of research methodology. Such works as Rice's *Methods in the Social Sciences*¹ and numerous articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* cover these points fairly adequately. The limitations of questionnaires, case histories, census data, rating scales, and tests in obtaining valid and reliable information are well known, while such considerations as accurate definition of the field of study, representativeness of sample, and specific definitions of the units to be studied must be kept in mind in proceeding with our subject.²

If we are to study the child, it would seem desirable to recognize him as constituting individual biological characteristics in a developmental process of growth that changes at various periods, and as a socially conditioned organism having varying traits of personality, some of which continue to be amenable to reconditioning and redirection. It seems to me one of the sociologist's first tasks in this field is to devise some way of measuring the pressure of social and cultural demands made upon the

¹ Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931.

² For an excellent bibliography of types of research study, see C. Luther Fry, *The Technique of Social Investigation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934).

child. If we begin by developing rather rough rank-order scales³ for measuring the effect of many of the factors in the environment of the child, it should be possible gradually to refine them to a considerable degree of reliability.

Inspection of a number of sociological studies, classified according to the scheme followed in the *American Journal of Sociology*, shows the heterogeneity of subjects dealt with in the field.⁴ Yet an analysis of the studies will show that they study the same phenomena, that the only real basis of differentiation would seem to be in the general functional points of view they represent.

In his recent book on *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*,⁵ Bernard reports twenty-nine subdivisions in the field of sociological science, some overlapping in various degrees with related physical and social sciences. An analysis of current research studies reported in the *American Journal of Sociology* shows six distinct methods of research, seven techniques of collecting data, and eight types of approach. In the studies listed in the appendix of the present paper, seven techniques of collecting data, five methods of research, and eight different approaches are discernible. These are as follows:

Methods of Research

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. The historical method | 4. The statistical method |
| 2. The survey method | 5. The experimental method |
| 3. The case method | 6. Combinations of the above |

Techniques of Collecting Data

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. The questionnaire (mailed, as an interview outline) | 3. Autobiographies |
| 2. The interview (questionnaire outline; case history outline) | 4. Moving pictures |
| | 5. Tests and rating scales |

³ L. K. Frank, "Personality and Rank Order," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1929, p. 377.

⁴ See appendix at end of this article

⁵ New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1934.

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|---|--|
| 6. Observation (participant observer; controlled experimentation, detached observation) | ernment publications (national, state, local), private agency reports, research studies, etc.) |
| 7. Documentary evidence (diaries, letters, census information, court proceedings, gov- | 8. Combinations of the above techniques |

Approaches

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Philosophical or theoretical | 6. Psychological |
| 2. Historical | 7. Psychiatric and psychoanalytic |
| 3. Anthropological | 8. Sociological (contemporary culture) |
| 4. Economic | |
| 5. Biological | |

It would be interesting to see how the methods used in such studies as Rice's study of political opinion, the Chicago School's Ecological Studies, Thomas's *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*, Burgess's work on Prediction of Successful Parole, and Lindeman's *Social Discovery* could be applied to child studies. The technique of participant observation described in *Social Discovery* would seem to have many definite applications to the study of child problems. Sanderson, Thurow, Dennis, and others have used variations of this method for studying family and child relationships. Another ingenious technique for dealing with group structure and relationships is set forth in Dr. J. L. Moreno's new book, *Who Shall Survive*. He uses schools and institutions for young people as the basis of his study, and his diagrammatic representation of relationships in the various group activities of these children is a useful tool.

Clifford Kirkpatrick's development of a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes towards feminism has great possibility for application to young people of elementary- and high-school level, and particularly to studying the manner in which girls acquire their concepts of woman's role in society and their attitudes towards woman in general.

The studies of ecology, mobility, and population shifts have

direct application to the study of childhood, and an indirect bearing in the effects of these various factors upon children. The studies of Shaw, Thrasher, and others have made direct use of these techniques in child studies. Professor Blumer at Chicago has emphasized the need for special studies of the unique culture of various levels of child life. This approach should be productive of data as basic to good teaching and child guidance as the work of Margaret Mead. In fact, this approach would seem to me to be the unique contribution of sociology to studies of child development.

So one might go through the topical list of sociological research studies, recasting them in terms of their relevance to an understanding of children. But it seems to me desirable that there should be a division of sociological research concerned more or less with the various aspects of the sociology of childhood. Such a scheme might be outlined as follows:

The Sociology of Childhood

1. Sociological techniques and methods of child study
2. Historical and comparative studies of the child in society
3. Studies of the social attitudes and personality of children
4. Social problems, pathology, and adjustments of childhood
5. The social organization and institutions of childhood
6. Population, ecological, and demographic studies of childhood
7. Conflict and accommodation groups of childhood

I should like to suggest one quantitative project^a that would be significant in the study of the first and second decades of life. The study is posited upon the hypothesis that one of the most important indexes of our culture from the standpoint of adult life is the time-place standardization of our life ways and that the child must gradually accommodate himself to this factor. These institutional cultural demands or social pressures are multitudinous and important and, I think, amenable to quan-

^aBased upon material presented at the New Haven conference of sociologists and others on adolescence, April 27-29, 1934.

tification on a scale basis. The demands, restrictions, and opportunities incident to the growth and development of the child might form a useful basis of interpreting some of the adjustments children make in experiencing widening institutional contacts. In such a study the biological changes that occur with maturation must be kept in mind. As an example let us consider the types of demands made upon the child in the American school, the most universal extrafamilial institution impinging upon the life of the child.

Demands the School Makes Upon the Child

1. Punctuality.
2. Attendance (the extent to which the child must attend and the extent to which he must attend a particular school).
3. Discipline—that is, the child must be quiet, properly respectful, etc.
4. Achievement—academic, physical, educational, social, etc. In this field there are many degrees of participation.
5. Submission to various types of school programs and classifications, such as transition from junior high school to senior high school, from common school to junior high school, and special types of school classification and organization. These demands are often made without much regard for the individual capacities of the children concerned.
6. Compulsory educational demands—for example, the requirement that the child who must earn wages before reaching the minimum school-leaving age should continue his education in a continuation school.
7. Homework demands, which are varied and more or less exacting.
8. The demands of extracurricular activities, which are to some extent the result of social compulsives rather than actual school demands.
9. Demands that children take certain types of courses.
10. Ability classifications, forcing children to keep up with a certain level of ability.
11. Variable demands the teacher's personality makes upon the child and conflicts arising out of these demands. An example is given in the studies of teachers' attitudes made by Wickman.

12. Extraschool demands made on the children through the school; for example, thrift drives, patriotic movements, and the influence of such groups as the American Legion, D.A.R., etc., which promote certain points of view through the schools.

13. The health requirements of the school.

14. Compulsion to choose vocational and avocational studies before the child's life interests have been defined.

15. Contradictory demands of the school.

In analyzing these demands of the school upon the child we shall have to consider the sources of data, the kinds of data we need, ways of observing children, what factors are observable in the school, and what indicators we have of the effect of school demands upon the behavior of children.

As sources of data we have school records; interviews with parents, teachers, attendance officers, etc.; cases of individual children; studies of different school systems; the reports of adolescents, e.g., what these various demands seem to reflect in the mind of the adolescent; studies of the activities of adolescents through studies of the adolescent and how he registers the effects of institutional demands in reactions to other agencies; and demographical material within a local cultural area, e.g., a particular group if followed over a five-year period would reveal some of the influences of these various and conflicting demands upon the child.

We should need psychiatric, psychological, biological, and sociological data. In terms of sociological data we should want a demographic study at the beginning and at certain periods of development, definable measures of institutional demands, and a technique of study which would make it possible for different investigators to get the same results.

We can observe the adolescent by means of experimental studies, individual life histories, and observation of participation in various types of informal activity.

It should be possible to observe such factors as tardiness,

absences, misdemeanors in class, intelligence quotients, achievement tests and school placement, including retardation, desertion from home, leisure-time diary schedules, and institutional membership and participation. A study of a city block where there are adolescent children in the homes, made by a superior adolescent as a participant observer, would be of value.

We should want to determine what kind of indicators we have of the effect of school demands upon child behavior, how far institutions accommodate themselves to individual differences, and what differences seem to be noted in situations where adolescents have shared in the planning of their own program and where they are regimented into a schedule.

In summary, I have attempted to show some of the types of objective research that are being conducted by sociologists, the methods and techniques and approaches they have used, and how far these types and techniques of social research are applicable to the study of children. In addition, I have pointed out the desirability of formulating a definite field of research in the sociology of childhood.

APPENDIX

TYPES OF RESEARCH IN SOCIOLOGY¹

A. *Human Nature and Personality Studies*

Ruth Shoule Cavan, The relation of home background to personality adjustment of adolescents.

K. V. Francis and E. A. Fillmore, The influence of environment upon the personality of children (*Studies in Child Welfare*, ix, 2, University of Iowa, 1934, 5 + 71 pages).

K. Young, The measurement of personal and social traits,

Read Bain, The self words of a child.

Paul Furfey, A scale for measuring developmental age in girls.

C. Kirkpatrick, Construction of a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism and its standardization with respect to reliability and validity.

B. *Population and Demographic Studies*

Park, Burgess and McKenzie, Ecological studies of the urban community.

W. A. Anderson, Population trends in New York State.

Raymond Pearl, Studies of population.

Truesdale, Whelpton, Thompson, and others, Population trends and analysis studies.

W. A. Anderson, Mobility of sons and daughters in twenty-five hundred families in Genesee County, New York.

C. *Social Organization and Social Institutions*

Ross Warren Sanderson, The strategy of city church planning (New York Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932, XVI + 245 pages).

Herbert Blumer, Relation of the depression to certain behavior problems of Negro adolescent girls in Chicago.

Francis Stuart Chapin, A quantitative rating scale for rating the home and social environment of middle-class families in urban communities.

D. *The Family*

E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Prediction of adjustment in marriage happiness in relation to age at marriage.

¹ "Current Research Projects," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL, 2 (September 1934), p. 221. Most of these studies have not been published.

E. R. Mowrer, The ecology of the family.

C. E. Lively, Relation of size of farm families to length of time married and size of farm business.

E. Social Control

L. L. Bernard, The mob.

Frederic M. Thrasher, An evaluation of the work of a large boys' club.

F. The Rural Community.

C. R. Hutchinson, The pure milk association.

E. L. Kirkpatrick, Effect of the depression on farm family living.

D. E. Lindstrom, Factors affecting rural social organization.

G. Peoples and Cultural Groups

T. E. Sullenger, A study of ethnic assimilation in Omaha.

C. Horace Hamilton, Rural-urban migration in North Carolina.

H. Conflict and Accommodation

W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish peasant in Europe and America (New York Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, 2 vols.).

J. J. Rhyne, The Indian in Oklahoma.

M. H. Leiffer, The population pyramid as a test of the adequacy of the church program.

I. Social Problems, Pathology, and Adjustment

James Ford, Research on slums and housing policy.

Jerome Davis, Survey of jail population in Connecticut.

William Healy, Augusta F. Bronner, E. M. H. Baylor, and J. Prentice Murphy, Reconstructing behavior in youth (New York and London. Alfred A. Knopf, 1929, XI + 325 + IX pages).

J. Theory and Methods

J. A. Neprash, The validity of responses to questionnaires.

Mapheus Smith, A scale of status of occupations.

Niles Carpenter, A social index of the Buffalo area.

J. G. Leyburn, Frontier folkways (Louis Stern Memorial Fund, Yale University Press, 1935, X + 291 pages).

D. S. Thomas, Ruth Arrington, and Alice Loomis, Observational studies of social behavior.

A METHOD FOR THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF INFANCY AND PRESCHOOL CHILDHOOD

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Most sociological studies begin with the assumption that culture forms have already been transmitted to the individual. He is already fully equipped to consort with his kind when we first see him; just how this was accomplished we are not prepared to say in any great detail though we insist that, coming into the group he did, he had no option but to be the person he became. The sociological hypothesis forces us to push as far as possible the principle that all behavior is social—that is, defined by the conduct of others in social interaction. It is conceived to be an essential part of the sociologist's task to hold himself accountable for describing the growth of the individual in associated life.¹ This is essential because it is only through such studies that we can understand the transmission of the social heritage to a new individual. If we wish to hold tight to our terminology we may consider that we are not merely "taking a life history" but we are investigating the process by which a new individual is made a qualified group member.

There is no time point in the life of an individual short of his birth where the sociologist can safely begin an investigation of the individual who is to become acculturated. Either we must begin with the initial socialization of the child or we are leaving out an essential step in our researches. Comparative researches in different societies have shown us indubitably the arbitrary (traditional) character of human action.² What they still withhold from us is a precise description of how the individual is induced to behave in the conventional manner. This knowledge

¹ E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, *Introduction to Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 6.
York: The Macmillan Company, 1934).

² For example, see George Peter Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New

we may hope to get by a study of the very young child in our own society.

So far sociologists seem to have progressed back from the study of mature individuals acting in adult groups to the period of adolescence, partly by way of studies of delinquency.⁸ The preadolescent child is still largely a mystery so far as we are concerned, and so long as this is true our theoretical knowledge will be incomplete.

The writer has several times posed to himself the problem of methods of child study and found that a number of difficulties supervene. The preschool child, for instance, is not able to give us a life history. The young child is still so intimately a part of the family milieu that observation of him outside of the family situation is likely to put the problem inaccurately. Even in the nursery school one sees in a three-year-old child a process of social development of considerable sophistication. The method of putting a researcher in the home to observe a child in relation to its parents is not likely to help very much unless the observer remains so consistently in the family as to become part of its structure.

A possibility still remains, namely, of inducing one of the parents to become the participant observer of the growing child. It is this possibility which I wish to recommend. Of the two parents the mother is by all odds the choice as observer because she is so much more important, as a rule, in the life of the child up to five years, and because she is at home while the other parent is likely to be working and in infrequent contact with the maturing child. The mother would be a participant observer in the sense that it is her function to transmit to the child (largely unwittingly) the fundamental expectations and opportunities offered by its group. If, in addition to this task, she can learn

⁸ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 15.

to view herself and the child as actors in this situation, we may expect to have from her invaluable scientific data which are attainable in virtually no other way.

In thinking over a research plan it occurred to me that there are a number of young married women who are reasonably well trained in the social-science field and who have given up careers in social science to marry. Such persons I thought would make ideal sociological research mothers. They might still wish to use their scientific training in a situation which would not divert attention from their duties of child rearing and might be interested in the unique position which they occupy as potential scientific contributors

The plan was to elicit the interest of such a mother in this research and to provide her with an opportunity to dictate or write her daily observations on the behavior of her child, and to describe her own relation to him, as well as the child's relations with his siblings and father. At the outset, it was assumed, these observations would be extremely naïve. Two other assumptions were also made (a) that the activity of the child as recorded day by day would reveal constant patterns, and (b) that the mother would gain in skill as an observer as she went along. In regard to (b) the writer worked out a plan whereby the "research mother" would discuss with him every week the materials accumulated during the previous week.

We take, then, as our object of study a mother with a child and, in specific, the social and emotional growth of the child under the influence of family contacts. Preliminary study has indicated that this is a topic about which we can learn much. So far the writer has undertaken three such studies, none of them satisfactory by even the simplest criteria, such as length of time for testing out the hypothesis, but all of them in various ways encouraging and illuminating. Unfortunately none of the material is ready for publication at this time or even for very

specific reference and discussion. However, enough has been done so that it does not seem too optimistic to make a preliminary report.

Some conclusions from the study so far will be listed here and discussed. It is already clear that the method of observation by the mother herself under the control of a consultant is a useful research situation. It delivers a picture of the growth of the child which removes to a considerable degree the parental bias to which all unguided reports of children by their own parents are liable. Without guidance the mother tends to give a picture of an ideal child according to her conception of the culture pattern and this acts as a constant distorting force in the material. Much of the "training" of the research mother consists in aiding her to avoid this type of bias.

The method yields a mass of concrete material by showing the impact of family life for a considerable time period. The material can be studied as a whole and will impress a student of child sociology as being a unified body of fact. It reveals in children, older than infants, patterned character and a definite structure of life. It enables study of the nature-nurture question in a concrete situation where one can handle moot issues by reference to a social context intimately known.

One is not forced, in case of such materials, to "reconstruct" the earlier experience of the individual by study of his overt present-day behavior, as students of the adult person must do. In many cases one can actually witness through the eyes of the mother the accomplishment of readjustments on the part of the child which have a permanent molding effect on its character—that is, one can see the process of socialization at work in a concrete instance. Naturally not all the material is of this type but the earlier the age of the child the more likely one is to see the bending and molding of the organic life by the social experience of the individual.

By such studies the growth of the normal child can be investigated. Usually we have to select our subjects for detailed human study when some fracture of their relations to the organized group brings them to our attention. But the method outlined herein enables us also to study "normal" children. This is no small advantage because the direct study of the "normal" person is difficult due to the fact that one of the prerogatives of normality is exemption from the attention of court and psychiatrist.

The material returned by and discussed with the research mother strikingly reveals the great importance of the parental attitudes existing before the birth of the child and of the exact marital adjustment of the parents at the time the child is conceived and born. The attitudes of the parents appear to function with remarkable consistency before the child's birth and through its early years. These attitudes are in a crucial sense the significant milieu of the child and should be the objects of the most intensive research. One can speak of them before the child's birth as the anticipatory culture of the child; they are probably more fateful for the future of the child than any details of its material milieu.

The data also clearly indicate the directness with which the study of the child leads into the current marital situation and problems, if any, of the parents. This immediately adds a very unwelcome element to our research. We set out to study the child and find ourselves confronted with the child as an aspect of group integration, that of the family. We had not prepared our "research mother" to reveal to us very much about herself or her husband, let alone their most personal relationships. At this very point research of this sort is likely to founder and at the same point we undoubtedly reach the limits of penetration of the method into the life of the child. It may be that much of what we want to know, because it is of character-forming significance

for the child, is privileged material from the standpoint of the parents and that only in rare cases will we be able to carry through such a research with thoroughness. However, though centering our attention on the child in any given case, one does learn a great deal, without pressing at all, about the character of the parent or parents, because the mother exhibits herself so significantly in her relationships with her child. In reality the child is to be viewed as a social function of the family as formed previous to its birth and existing during its early years. One receives the strongest impression that any child studied in isolation is an unreal object of research, and by isolation I mean outside the direct influence of its sociological parents. The family is its "field" in the same way that falling bodies can only be understood in terms of a universal gravitational field.

An interesting facet of the research is the fact that the mother, if a good observer, can keep track to a considerable degree of the child's actions in play-group situations as these relationships become important. By little conspiracies with other mothers who are occasionally in charge of the subject child the reporting mother can get a good picture of the child in its play-group situation and study its first out-family contacts. This is invaluable by way of comparison with the action of the child in the family itself. It suggests an ideal state of affairs where one might make studies of a series of children in the same play group, the mothers collaborating and conspiring to intensify our insight into the action of the group as a whole. It is not impossible that such a cluster of studies could be established in some fortunate situation.

A bothersome finding is the fact that it is difficult to publish significant materials gained by such a research. The difficulty is suggested by the point made above, namely that the child proves to be a point of entry to the life of the family group and specifically to normal mothers and fathers resident in your own

community. Unusual care has to be exercised to disguise the materials and it is probably best by all odds if the investigator from the very outset does not reveal who his informants are. It is lamentable that in the publication of such materials specific credit cannot be given to the mother who has labored so faithfully, but there seems no way of overcoming this barrier.

The perturbing voice of scientific conscience offers an objection. Suppose we do not get "all" of the material but only the little patches of it which the mother is capable of observing. Will this not materially distort our picture of the child? Our first answer to this query is that it may be true; on second thought we insist that we are not going to begin by assuming that it is true and therefore deserting a promising path to new knowledge. We will accept its truth only as a regretful conclusion of protracted research. Preliminary experience seems to indicate a negative answer. Only in earliest infancy does one see segmental activity; very early in the life of a child one receives the definite impression from the recorded material that he has before him an organized life and a "personality policy."

Another difficulty which may be encountered by any one undertaking such a study of a child is the fact that the "research mother" will tend to overlook any behavior of the child which stirs latent conflicts of her own. The research technique, however, presses her to report without bias the action of the child even if it does stir her emotionally. There is the danger, therefore, that for the mother the situation may be one of increasing tension and of disturbing emotional conflict. She may, for example, be forced to admit to herself that her child shows disagreeable biting tendencies, tendencies which have been elaborated in her own character development and of which she is not proud. Her response to these activities of the child may lead her to overlook them entirely and thus to leave them out of the record, or to attempt to extirpate those activities, of which she

is in turn ashamed and unwilling to report, by punishment of the child. There is no way of avoiding the heightened emotional conflict of the mother who undertakes such a work as this. If she responds with great intensity and personal discomfort the only solution is to drop the research. At this point we must confess that we are not masters of our material. Very often, however, a research which is terminated in this way yields results of very great value because it helps us to understand how keenly the child is knit into the emotional life of the parents and to evaluate these affective parental ties at their true significance. There is probably no way of knowing in advance whether a research will have to be abandoned for the above reason.

Those of us who have experienced the satisfaction of using refined methods of description and analysis may consider these suggestions unduly primitive and look forward only to hazardous and uncertain results. It is necessary to resist one's scientific conscience at this point with all possible vigor. Our valuable methods will not escape us while we are doing the arduous exploratory work required of a science; they will rather remain right at our elbows and ready for use whenever we have something significant to use them on. The methodology must fit the problem if we wish to understand and control phenomena outside ourselves; it is no good complaining that we will not study problems if they do not meet us in a form corresponding to our methodological equipment; we must rather invent methods to solve problems that seem significant.

In discussing the material with the mother it is found best not to make specific recommendations in regard to the child but to place the emphasis on discussion of the changes in the child's behavior. Whatever insight these discussions may give to the research mother she will apply in her own way. It cannot be denied that such discussions of material may somewhat change the growth sequence of the child in question, but we must re-

member that our interference at this point is a very slight thing as compared with the impacted mass of organized culture which the mother embodies and which she transmits to the child. We need have no fear that with our David's stone we shall slay this Goliath. Naturally one attempts in the present state of our knowledge to minimize one's therapeutic interference because of its guesswork character. One prefers to let nature take its course rather than to become responsible for alterations of behavior whose effect one cannot foresee.

It is important not to let the child know he is under observation by a parent because this knowledge will enter as a factor into the situation and may somewhat distort its behavior. This is not true of infants, of course, but is surprisingly true of children at five or six years.

It is highly desirable in the recording for the mother to separate her opinions and interpretations of the behavior of the child from an exact recording of what it sees, does, wants, how it plays, etc. This applies also to the control observer. The basic material should be published separate from opinions and interpretations of the research mother or the control observer.

A word should be said about the researcher himself in this sort of work. He (or she) should be a person with a satisfactory social adjustment who is proof against the temptation to minor exploitations of these relationships. Sociology will certainly be able to produce such persons. Besides this qualification a painstaking survey of his own life history is a very great asset indeed. Persons, and sociologists are no exception, differ greatly in their realism about their own social and emotional adjustments. Some carry scotoma which are obvious to all but themselves. Others have excellent, if unsystematized, insight into their own life sequences and studying them cannot be amiss. What is certain is that the control observer will systematically block out those aspects of the child's behavior which are painful or re-

pugnant to him. Very little experience in actually doing this type of work will enable one to catch himself at just this point. Perfection from this standpoint is not to be hoped for in any observer, but we can be aware of the danger at the outset and do our best to guard against it.

The object of these case studies through research mothers is to develop a thoroughly socialized conception of the growth of the child in our society. If this task can be achieved, it will place researches undertaken on the child in a proper perspective. It seems likely also to give us a new sense of the importance of the somatic tensions which urge the child into social coöperation. I have attempted to stress a context and method of research that is specifically sociological, if found useful it will probably supplement and interlock with existing methods and results. Where technically possible all methods, such as study of physical growth and group study of children in the nursery school, can be used at the same time as the one herein proposed.

A FEW CRITICAL POINTS IN APPLYING OBJECTIVE SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS TO THE STUDY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT¹

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In considering the applicability of objective methods used in sociological research to studies in child development, we turn at once to the standards, by adherence to which these researches claim reliability and social value.

Standards of "objective methods" are based on unequivocal definition of terms and on such care in the selection and treatment of data that biasing factors are reduced to the minimum. The crucial test of this realistic treatment of carefully defined problems is the verifiability of results by independent observers. The application of this test gives us a *minimum* measure of the degree of precision of the results. Thus, generalizations derived by objective methods can and should be of a known degree of accuracy under given conditions. Later, when methods of investigation have improved and also when the problem under consideration requires greater accuracy, we may discover without embarrassment that the true inaccuracy of our earlier measure was much greater than the earlier known amount.

It would be a handicap to sociological studies on the child if the mere fact of objectivity of the items under investigation were considered a guarantee of valid results without this appraisal of relative precision. Sociologists have only recently become generally aware of this situation. Bain,² in an investigation of the reliability of questionnaires in a college class, found that objec-

¹ This article is an adaptation with few minor changes of a discussion of Robert G. Foster's article which immediately preceded it at the conference.

² "Stability in Questionnaire Response," *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1931 (Volume XXXVII), pp. 445-453.

tivity, per se, did not increase the stability of the responses. In the repetition of a questionnaire, there was an average of 23 per cent change. While factual personal data tended to be recorded the second time with the least change, the responses on certain items in the factual family group, such as sex of siblings, were changed more frequently than were the responses to a number of the subjective personal items.

In many quarters, the proposition is accepted that no inherent antagonism exists between objective and subjective methods, one emphasizing realistic treatment of overt data and the other owing its validity to the insight and judgment of the worker. But the former approach will be futile if understanding of the general problem and controlled imagination are lacking in the formulation of working hypotheses. On the other hand, the so-called subjective methods become individual intellectual amusements unless results conform to reality.

Without doubt, varied approaches are needed in a field as relatively undeveloped as is that of the social behavior of children. The rigid application of the standards of objective method will make progress by this path alone very slow. As Ogburn⁸ says, in his chapter in *Essays on Research in the Social Sciences*, "the entrance requirements of new knowledge into science are very exacting, and rightly so." Even the most enthusiastic supporter of objective methods of research cannot fail to recognize the limitations of the tools we have at present. While we are developing more adequate scientific methods, we must continue to use artistic methods of adjusting the child *and* his environment (not the child *to* his environment). In this field, that which has been said so frequently in other connections, is applicable; the practice of a highly developed art is preferable to the use of a pseudo science. In accepting this dependence on art while sci-

⁸ "Considerations in Choosing Problems of Research," *Essays on Research in the Social Sciences*, The Brookings Institution, 1931.

ence is being developed, it may be well to follow the example of Dr. Howells when child nutrition was in its infancy as a science. Dr. Howells frequently told his students that when he was accused of willingness to feed a child brass tacks, he answered "Certainly, if the child is thriving on them, but I try to find out why."

Since it is evident that we are in a period very productive of objective studies on the social life of the child, it is well to mention a few pitfalls in our path and the more obvious means of avoiding them.

One of these pitfalls is the use of quantitative methods on materials with a large admixture of the subjective, such as case histories and diary records. Not only is completeness of information on certain items frequently lacking, but the cultural pattern as well as the personal bias of the worker enters into the record.

Very often, too, we find an attempt to give apparent precision to poor data by applying powerful formulas and disregarding underlying assumptions. The misuse of coefficients of correlation is a particular case. The simple precaution of a scatter diagram may prevent claiming a general relationship between two variables by revealing the spurious effect on the coefficient of a few extreme cases and by indicating the degree of linearity in the relationship.

The limitations of small groups and the danger of generalization from them must be particularly guarded against in the study of child behavior where frequently the number of subjects is limited. One solution of the difficulty in small samples is coöperative research in different centers. This, naturally, becomes possible only after investigators have adopted comparable methods.

And lastly, there is the immense difficulty, of which we hear so much, arising from the complexity of factors in social situations and in the expressions of personality through overt be-

havior. In a suggested research on time-place standardization there are at least 1,000,000 combinations of the factors mentioned and, in addition, the permutations. I assume the author has in mind making preliminary case studies from which to select a few factors for more intensive consideration by the method which is sociology's closest approximation to experiment. Here, with large groups, one factor is held constant statistically; another is allowed to vary in known ways, while all others are temporarily overlooked. A rough approximation, it is true, yet with great possibilities.

Having mentioned several pitfalls in the application of objective sociological methods to the study of the child, but with optimism as to the possibility of their avoidance, let us turn to two objective sociological methods that seem to offer fruitful results in the exploration of problems in child development.

The first is direct observation of behavior of individuals or of groups. The large number of current researches using direct observation techniques is indicated in the bibliographies of Olsen⁴ on time-sampling techniques and of Bott⁵ in her two recent books.

Preliminary problems in direct observation are being attacked independently in many centers. These problems include the selection and definition of significant items in social interaction and the development of techniques of known degrees of precision for their measurement; the selection and definition of significant items in environment and development of means of quantifying them. The attack on this problem of environment has in many cases been delayed by the selection of a situation

⁴ Willard C. Olson and Elizabeth M. Cunningham, "Time Sampling Techniques," *Child Development*, Volume 5, No. 1, March 1934, pp. 41-58.

⁵ H. Bott, *Method in Social Studies of Young Children*, University of Toronto Studies Child Development Series, 1933, I, p. 110; *Personality Development in Young Children*, University of Toronto Studies Child Development Series, 1934, II, p. 135.

relatively free from immediate control. The previous conditioning processes are thus disregarded at the present stage of these techniques. But attention must at some later time be given to the measurable elements in the structuralized environment in which the child's patterns of behavior have been formed.

As soon as this preliminary work in unrelated researches has led to generalizations regarding methods or the behavior of children, we may expect that the results from different centers will be brought into comparison for challenging, or corroborating, or extending the work to date. We may assume that one purpose in the organization of the Society for Research in Child Development is the facilitation of contacts among various research workers.

The synthesis of results from different research centers is possible only after there is agreement on underlying concepts and procedures. Measures of reliability in observation, to mention one point, are quite incapable of comparison if derived by different processes; and, if the relative precision of instruments is unknown, the comparison of results is uncertain. A recent study of language claimed exact corroboration of a previous study but used a different base in calculating indices.

Perhaps photorecording, if it produces an acceptable approximation of the true record, will allow us to make the important distinction between the real error in observation and the amount of disagreement among simultaneous observers. The percentage of disagreement has been used as a measure of precision of observational techniques, although it is obviously too favorable in that it counts as correct the error upon which observers agree. In other words, the *real* observational error includes not only the disagreement of observers, at least one of whom must be wrong, but also their agreements on incorrect records. The presence of error in the agreement of two observers is clearly brought out when a third observer is introduced or when even

the best trained recorder repeats his own observation on a film.

Another objective sociological method that may be expected to have special value in the study of the child is the survey of the environment. The limitation of time does not permit more than mere mention of this approach. These surveys, as in the studies of Slawson⁶ and of Thrasher,⁷ attempt to relate particular aspects of the environment to particular sorts of behavior. At present, we are able to describe accurately such details of the milieu as density of population, number of rooms in the home, the occupation of the parents, and the child's club attendance, but we have yet to find and objectify the really significant factors. The discovery of these relatively potent situational elements is one of the results anticipated from the large-scale investigations to which we may look forward in the near future.

The nearer the child to adulthood, the more complex and often the more changing is his environment and his responses to it. At the same time, his responses may become more subtle and more delayed in expression. It is natural therefore that much attention is being given to the study of the overt behavior of the younger child in relatively simple situations.

Our general aim in the various objective methods now being developed is to produce verifiable data on child behavior in widely varying situations which will permit us to generalize as to what are normal patterns of behavior at different ages. It is probable that these standards will have to be related to measurable elements in the environment. Deviations of significance will include not only deviations of individuals in the group but deviations of groups in different situations and changes in the individuals and the groups as situations are modified. In this program, now in its infancy, there will be horizontal studies of

⁶ John Slawson, *Delinquent Boy* (Boston: Richard G. Badger Company, 1926).

⁷ Frederick Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

the social interaction between children of different ages in different classes of society, from different nationalities and races. The vertical studies, a few of which are in the embryonic stage, will be extended to include large numbers of children as they mature and as they pass from one sort of known situation to another.

It may seem that too much enthusiasm has been expressed for the discovery of normative behavior, the existence of which has not been proved. But only as we learn by impersonal quantitative methods the sorts of behavior that tend to occur at given age levels in situations having known characteristics, that is, only as we learn to define norms, are we justified in describing behavior as not normal. Then, with quantitative descriptions of the environments, we may be able to understand a bit more of variation in behavior, desirable as well as undesirable. As we gain this knowledge, social science becomes of increasing service in the development of the child.

SUGGESTIONS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

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What aspects of child life and development do sociologists think they can most profitably study in the near future and at what points of child study do they feel they can make distinctive research contributions? These questions were put to a representative number of American sociologists whose names already appeared on the membership roll of the Society for Research in Child Development or whose names were being presented for nomination to membership. The solicited sociologists were not requested to fill out a schedule but were merely asked to set forth in one or two written pages their suggestions and ideas. The present paper is based on the returns of that very meager but nevertheless indicative canvass.¹

The returns included suggestions which seemed to classify themselves under the following headings: general methodological objectives, specific methodological suggestions, general problems for sociological research in the child field, specific research problems in child sociology. The returns concerned themselves mostly with the latter topic as would be expected from the initial request for suggestions.

The suggestions classified under the head of general methodological objectives included:

1. Standardization of methods of collection and analysis that combine validity, reliability, and ease of administration.
2. Agreement among investigators as to methods of research. This will be hastened by standardization of methods.
3. Utilization of a variety of approaches and techniques. By this is meant a convergence of descriptive and measurement techniques, of

¹ Returns which reached the author too late to be integrated in his paper, which was presented November 3, had to be omitted.

statistical and case-study methods, and of cross-sectional and developmental methods.

4. Determination of norms of social development of persons at different ages from birth to adulthood, with which individual cases may be compared, these norms to refer to a variety of family and cultural situations, for example norms for children of the middle, upper, slum, and tenant-farmer classes.

Methodological suggestions of a more specific sort next claim our attention. They include:

1. A need for objective definition of terms as an aid to comparability of methods and results.

2. Active attempts should be made to perfect methods of observation and recording of data. Studies, such as those of Dorothy Thomas and her associates, should be extended, and perfected methods should be employed in place of untried procedures.

3. Techniques of quantification of data should be developed.

4. Use of partial correlation methods of measuring relationships should be encouraged.

5. Determination of causal patterns by means of comparing almost identical cases deserve wider use.

6. Norms should be ascertained by means of statistical studies or by judgments based on psychophysical principles. A social contact scale for urban children is one that was specifically suggested.

7. Means for measuring the standing of individuals in reference to norms, such as on an attitude scale, should be developed. Persons of different degrees of divergence in both directions from the norm might be selected for intensive case study which may reveal causal factors.

General problems of research in the sociological aspects of child development were not given much attention by the sociologists who communicated with me, perhaps for the reason that a general statement would mean little and also perhaps because specific problems are in the focus of our attention. Nevertheless, I should like to mention two major problems that should eventually be solved when this field is thoroughly cultivated. First, our main objective is to learn the effect of various numbers and qualities of experiences in every separate type and combination

of types of social situation upon the development of personality and other social action tendencies in individuals of different original stuff and different developmental histories. Central tendencies and variabilities which will lead to norms should also be sought for each one of these situations and types of personality. We need to recognize the existence of a great variety of problems and the need of specific conclusions which only later can be built into dependable general conclusions and principles.

The second general objective is a thorough study of the development of adjustment and maladjustment of the child to various situations. We need to know how to ensure the adjustment of individuals of different characteristics to each situation. The effect of the situations, as he experiences them, on the child and the study of adjustment of children to various situations cover the major types of problems for which we should eventually seek the solution.

Suggestions for specific research problems were plentiful, but proved to be difficult to classify. Something can be gained, however, by grouping problems which refer to distinctive age levels. In the preschool period several important suggestions may be recorded:

1. A study of the conditioning factors in home life.
2. Amount and quality of differences in development of preschool children reared in orphanages and at home.
3. Differences in development of preschool children of different social classes.
4. A study of the requests of preschool children in middle-class families—what they ask for or ask to be allowed to do. Correlation of the requests with the cultural exposure of the child, to determine to what extent requests of young children are contingent on cultural influences, and to what extent on purely original and individual factors.
5. A study of disobedience of young children, in order to determine at what points resistance to patterning of behavior appears, and under what conditions.

6. Relation of nursery-school experience to development of social traits in children.

7. Study of social processes by which undefined organic processes of the newborn infant become human nature.

There were no suggestions for studies confined to the later preadolescent period, but several suggestions for studies of adolescence were submitted, including

1. Differences in sophistication of children of different class and community backgrounds.

2. The effect of puberty upon social relationships.

3. The effects of institutional changes upon the personalities of children of junior- and senior-high-school age.

4. A systematic study of social problems of adolescence, suggested under the following heads:

- a) The study of the new worlds to which the adolescent must adjust
- b) A study of the definitions and interpretations which are made of these worlds
- c) A study of the manner in which adjustments are made
- d) A study of specific adjustments to objects and situations, *i.e.*, institutional obligations, sex behavior, courtship, etc.
- e) A study of the life pattern and personality traits built up as a result of these serial efforts at adjustment.

By far the greater number of suggestions for specific researches cut across the entire age range in which we are interested. A catalogue of them is quite long, but should be made a matter of record:

1. Comparisons of orphanage and nonorphanage children.

2. The effect of the order of birth upon personality.

3. The impact of the pecuniary resources and organization of the family and neighboring families on the maturing personality of the child. This may be broken up into more specific problems, such as the child's maturing needs for money and the sources of these needs, family "sets" towards money, the process of organizing his outlook on his world in terms of his spending resources, and social stereotypes as to kinds of orthodox expenditure.

4. Effects of shifting of economic class lines in depression periods on personality of the children involved.

5. The effect upon the child of shifting relationships growing out of the father's inability to support the family.

6. Experiences with the fact and idea of death, and their subjective and objective effects on children.

7. The extent to which the expectancy of others, both children and adults, influences the interests and actions of children.

8. A series of investigations in different centers covering such points on the employment of youth as (a) the age at which, and characteristics of the position in which the child's adjustment is greatest; and (b) the alternatives to employment which are most and least closely related to satisfactory adjustment.

9. Relation of social and emotional problems of children to the number and variety of social contacts they make with social agencies and institutions, with social groups, and with industrial and street life, both within and outside of their own communities.

10. Origin, nature, and development of social concepts in children.

11. Attitudes of children towards certain selected laws.

12. Further studies of children's imaginary companions.

13. Further comparative studies of the development of identical twins separated before the age of six months and placed in foster family homes.

14. Further study of the effects of foster home placement on personality.

15. A comparative study of the rearing and development of children of deaf-mute parentage and of children of normal hearing parents of the same social class and local community.

16. The comparative speed of development in social learning and sophistication of white and Negro children in order to learn more about race differentials in development.

17. Further studies of conditions under which delinquent and criminal tendencies, moral ideas, moral habits, and strength of character develop.

18. A study of antisocial traits of juvenile delinquents in relation to family and neighborhood backgrounds

19. Studies of the development of tendencies to lead, to follow, to originate, and to imitate.

20. Development of in-group consciousness in children.

21. Observational and experimental studies of the effect of face-to-face, sympathetic interaction upon the development of personality.

22. Development of tendencies to play group roles.

23. Further studies of sex differences at various ages, especially through adolescence, with a view of determining the effect of the role of each sex in determining sex differences.

24. Studies of race differences in the production of persons with ability and personality for outstanding leadership, including studies of Negro children of superior intelligence, after the manner of the Stanford studies of gifted children.

25. Methods of obtaining cooperation and socialization.

26. Means of obtaining morale, rapport, and *esprit de corps*, and the methods of inculcating traditions.

27. Means of transmission of customs and mores to the younger generation.

28. The extent to which psychopathic tendencies are the result of experience and environmental factors.

AS SOCIOLOGISTS ENTER CHILD-DEVELOPMENT STUDY

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As sociologists enter the field of child study, it seems worth while to take an inventory of their current assets and liabilities and to indicate what appears to be the most fruitful lines of research to follow.

Most of us would admit, I believe, that in the last fifteen years remarkable strides have been made by sociologists in the adaptation of methods and the development of research techniques applicable to studies of various sorts. While the familiarity with current research techniques is not as widespread in the sociological fraternity as would be desired, I have the feeling that the new generation of sociologists has sufficient appreciation and understanding of case-study methods, life histories, interviews, statistical devices, questionnaires, rating scales, observational techniques, and so forth, to warrant the expectation of more and better researches in the future. There is, if my optimism has not the better of me, much more of a universe of discourse on technical matters of research within the new generation than is generally accredited and certainly much more than was true among the trail-blazing pioneers in sociology a generation ago.

Sociologists of recent vintages of training not merely understand one another's research procedures better but are more disposed to admit that problems can be studied profitably by various approaches. And they are willing more and more to adjust research methods to the project in hand rather than the project to a method conceived to be uniquely efficacious. If this statement of affairs is correct, I believe that it represents a very definite asset.

At the same time that strides were being made in the realm of research methods, advancement was being made in the conceptual framework of sociology. We have emerged from the uncleared brush of such concepts as group mind, environment, and society to the more visible plains of such notions as the situation, impact of culture, and social interaction. While we have not arrived at anywhere near complete agreement and clarification of our conceptual tools, we are at least sufficiently far enough along to place our researches in an understandable and intelligible frame of reference. I believe this status of affairs, if again I have not been blinded by optimism, is an asset, because it means a clearer and more workable approach to things sociologists think are important to study.

Another asset, also gleaned from impressions, is that the new generation of sociologists is research conscious. It wants to find interesting and significant stuff; it is eager to follow up clues and hunches from antecedent work; it wants to make a worthwhile contribution and build up sociology.

The chief liabilities which greet the sociologists who are anxious to do research in the child field hover around the lack of facilities in set-up for conducting research with children. I am assuming, of course, that we cannot expect every young sociologist to be imbued with research zeal but that we can expect those who are so imbued to possess the technical skills suitable to the particular projects selected. Consequently, I am ruling out the liabilities of personnel and am emphasizing those of opportunity.

Sociology owns and shares in few, if any, practical wings, that is in the form of agencies, bureaus, clinics, institutes, and so forth, which give ready access to cases and subjects. In the large assortment of child-guidance clinics and child-research stations, there are practically no sociologists. They must seek entrance into and sometimes impose themselves on agencies in order to

make studies. And very often coöperation under these conditions is not good and the freedom to conduct a research project is restricted. In all fairness, however, it should be noted that the doors of agencies have opened progressively wider to sociological research in the last ten years than ever before.

As contrasted with psychiatrists, public-health workers, pediatricians, psychologists, social workers, teachers, and persons in other professional services in schools, the sociologists are at a distinct disadvantage. They lack official connection with the very sources of data—a connection which smooths the way for direct contact with subjects and situations. Consequently, research by sociologists must be carried on unofficially and will continue for some time to be done by persons on teaching staffs of universities and by graduate students seeking to fulfill the thesis requirement.

The lot of the teaching-staff member and the graduate student in sociology is none too easy for productive research. Assuming at best, in some university centers, the necessary relief from chores as well as a stimulating atmosphere, the funds for carrying out research projects by professors or graduate students are far from adequate. And for the most part sociological researchers in universities must find materials and field costs out of their own pockets. Only a great devotion to sociology and an urge to make a contribution can account for the persistence of sociological research in the face of so many barriers and limitations.

It would be very helpful in stimulating child-development researches at universities if "earmarked" funds could be set up from which researchers of the various disciplines, as represented in the Society for Research in Child Development, could draw support for significant projects and particularly for projects which called for a combined attack by researchers of two or three different disciplines.

Assuming that sociologists will divert more of their research efforts in the future to the field of child study, the question arises as to what lines of research can be most profitably followed in view of the limited facilities and the present status of sociology. It strikes me that there are three lines of research or three sorts of research projects that come within the qualification of the question as put. These three types of research effort are not presented in a logical classification or in order of importance.

In the first place, it seems quite likely that comparative studies of children growing up under clearly defined social levels and backgrounds should receive much attention. The idea would be to find measures of difference in a socially acquired trait or set of traits between, for example, children of the same sex and age in the tenant-farmer class in rural communities and in the poor working class in slum neighborhoods of urban areas. Class, race, nationality, urban-rural, sex, and age groups contain manifold possibilities for comparing children exposed to different circumstances and backgrounds. Comparative studies of this sort require schedules, questionnaires, rating scales, and other measuring instruments to facilitate work with large enough samples. And I believe that there are several sociologists who have the interest and the skill to push such studies to a conclusive end. However, the significance of qualitative studies, which represent the field worker's thorough acquaintance with and description of varying situations as they affect child growth and behavior, should not be overlooked.

At any rate, whether quantitative or qualitative, comparative studies are of importance when they yield clues as to how two or more varying situations and backgrounds produce a differential in behavior and growth. The sheer differential has little meaning unless it can be adequately explained. The great trouble with comparative studies heretofore is that they have not been followed up sufficiently to account for all grades of varia-

tion in behavior they show. And another difficulty has lain in the fact that so often the backgrounds of two classes of subjects is not carefully selected and understood before the measures of differences are obtained. And consequently the way in which the two backgrounds or situations have affected differential showing could only be inadequately hypothesized.

A second fruitful type of sociological child study should be found in attempts to describe as photographically as possible the process by which individual children acquire certain social attitudes, ideals, beliefs, consciousness of kind, roles, and modes of behavior. We talk much about the transmission of customs, social definition of behavior, acculturation of the individual, social interaction, and so on. But the fact is that we know very little about the details of the process by which patterning and resistance to patterning of behavior goes on. I remember reading some years ago a fragmentary but none the less indicative account by L. Guy Brown of the process by which two little girls in the same family developed two distinct roles and personality traits adhering thereto.¹ The account represented the observations of an objective person who was able to see what was taking place inside the family circle. It is surprising indeed that very little effort has been made by sociologists so far to get recordings of the process of behavior patterning in social situations.

Examples of it have been pointed out in life-history documents and in case histories. But no systematic study of the process has been attempted. And I seriously doubt that the case history and the life history are sufficient for an adequate description of the patterning process, although they are quite revealing at points when well done. The intimate details of the conditions under which patterning took place, especially the patterning in early life, cannot be recalled by the person who is interviewed or who writes his own story.

¹ "The Development of Diverse Patterns of Behavior Among Children in the Same Family," *The Family*, April 1928

According to his paper included in this issue, Dollard has made a very definite forward stride in attempting to get the photography of the process of social patterning of behavior of the young child in the family situation. His method of getting mothers to dictate daily on the behavior of their children and of counseling with them in regard to their reporting should yield valuable data for a systematic study of the process of acculturation, patterning of behavior, and the socially conditioned development of children.

It should be possible to push the use of this technique of recording into other vital social situations which envelop the young child. For example, it should be possible to get teachers, properly qualified for the task, to make the same sort of detailed, day-to-day dictations on individual children who have entered kindergarten or the beginning grade for the first time. And it might be possible to enlist the interest of Sunday-school teachers in reporting on the behavior of children who have been entered for the first time.

The observational techniques that have been developed for objective recording of child behavior can likewise be geared to photograph the patterning process in individual children over a period of months. While the observational recordings are undoubtedly superior to mother or teacher dictations in reliability and degree of objectivity, they are likely to lack the intimate and subjective details of interaction. Much insight, however, into the patterning process could be gained by the application of observational techniques to a wider assortment of social situations where important patterning is taking place—social settlements, classrooms, playgrounds, neighborhood and informal play groups, camps, orphanages, and so forth.

It will require a host of comparative and patterning-process studies before sociologists will be in position to deduce norms for the social development of children as determined by interaction

and culture impact. The interest in such studies is likely to remain primarily that of pure scientific description and analysis. But they should contain many valuable clues which can be transferred profitably to practical attempts to deal with children in an organized way.

A third set of promising researches by sociologists in the child field should come from practical studies. Attempts to describe or measure how certain social programs are reaching children would be practical but no less revealing than a pure scientific study. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have witnessed the rise of many social programs that have been projected as going concerns for the welfare of children and the determination of their wholesome development. And yet the effectiveness of them is not clearly known in spite of the many preconceived notions which have perpetuated them.

I have in mind studies such as Thrasher's New York Boys' Club study and Burgess's and Shaw's "area projects" in neighborhoods of high delinquency rates in Chicago. Besides revealing the degree of effectiveness of organized and superimposed programs, such practical studies can at the same time reveal how a certain social vaccination is taking with children. As a matter of fact, organized programs for children can be looked upon as social experiments in patterning of behavior.

The continuation of sociological studies in the field of child problems, such as delinquency, truancy, gang life, and so forth should net many important conclusions as to how behavior is determined by the cultural and interactional elements of social situations. In this connection sociologists have largely neglected detailed studies of the interaction, informal education, and transmission of a subrosa culture which goes on in institutions for delinquent and dependent children. I am interested in the fact that a move has been made in this direction as is indicated by a preliminary study of the informal education and subrosa

culture in a boys' reformatory.² Life histories, interviews, conversations, and observations, collected by a sociologist who lives in the institution and has the confidence of the boy inmates, both conditions of which held true in this study, can reveal significant data for an analysis of the patterning processes. Studies of problem children with the focus of attention on patterning should be of just as much value to a science of child development as studies of so-called normal children. The fact that one set of children has become the official concern of agencies casts a stigma of abnormal on them, which is mostly unwarranted. The process of behavior patterning, which is found in the gang or the reformatory, is just as important as that which is found in the Boy Scouts or the day school.

² Sam Moorer, *Education in a Reformatory*, Master of Arts thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1935.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

A STUDY OF EARLY MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENTS²

Only a very brief description of a study of early marriage adjustment is possible. I shall, therefore, present in project form the general purpose, scope and procedure in connection with this piece of research.

The primary purpose of this project is to discover the factors incident to the formation of early patterns of family life and the circumstances bearing upon their development and crystallization. The general objective of the project gives rise to several subordinating questions.

1. What are the physical, intellectual, and social backgrounds and conditions of the individuals at the time of marriage?
2. What adjustments do they make to the several aspects of life during the initial period of marriage, prior to the advent of children?
3. At what points in the development of the new family do serious conflicts arise and what predisposing factors seem to associate themselves with these events?
4. What happens to the relationship with the advent of children?
5. Can it be said over a long period of time that the two individuals develop a characteristic pattern of family life that is significant?

² This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Robert G. Foster, Advisory Service for College Women, Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, Michigan. It was a paper presented at the Section on Social Research, American Sociological Society, Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Illinois, December 26-29, 1934

The results of such a study as this should afford educators, social workers, ministers, physicians, home economists, and students of the family certain types of information useful in clinical and technological fields.

It should give some insight into the circumstances surrounding the initial years of marriage as a basis for understanding the types of situations related to family adjustment.

One should also be able to obtain more accurately first-hand information as to the origin of certain patterns or types of family relationship that develop and the cultural factors, both past and present, that seem to be significant in this regard.

Although this particular project has been set up to include a possible three- to five-year period, the scope of this research might very profitably cover a twenty- to thirty-year period, thus affording an opportunity for the study and development of family life from the time of the engagement of the two individuals concerned, throughout the child-bearing period—at least as far as the development of children through the adolescent period is concerned. Such a continuous project would afford opportunities for contact with husband, wife, and parents on a much more adequate coöperating basis than is often possible at present.

The couples involved in the research are all, as a rule, college graduates who coöperate on a voluntary basis, receiving in return the opportunity for such service as may be available through the Advisory Service for College Women at the Merrill-Palmer School and other resources of the institution. In some cases they are students prior to marriage, in other cases they have sought the Advisory Service as premarital clients. One or two cases have been referred by friends who knew of the research program under way.

The method, briefly, consists in obtaining from young men and women a social history of their personal and family back-

ground. Each is then given a physical examination, a Detroit Advanced Intelligence Test, the Barnreuter Personal Inventory, the Allport-Vernon Study of Values Test, a premarital Contract blank, and usually the Strong Vocational Interest blank for women. These more or less formal tests are supplemented by initial interviews prior to marriage on such service subjects as the clients desire, and approximately three or four times a year, usually alternating by interviewing husband and wife, the clients visiting the Advisory Service for about a two-hour interview. The interview data covers the following general types of information

1. Religious life, which includes a statement of the actual activities of the family members, both together and individually, with reference to home and extra family religious participation—including such things as saying prayers, saying Grace at the table, Bible reading, church attendance of various sorts, etc.
2. Family ritual and routine associated with eating, sleeping, bathing, celebrations, etc. Under this heading, information as to household routine, special events, general division of labor with reference to household activities, etc., are included.
3. Social, recreational and play life within the home and outside.
4. Continuing education.
5. Money management and questions incident to income and expenditure—that is, how they actually are handled and what questions arise concerning money.
6. Vocational or work activities. Here information as to the husband's work and its general requirements and wife's relationship to gainful employment are recorded.
7. Civic and community relations, to include information about the actual civic participation of the members in relation to citizens' groups, voting, politics, local government, etc.

8. Cultural interest in activities as differentiated from social and recreational life, including individual and joint participation in art, literary, musical, and dramatic activities.

9. Personal club life, including the activities of the members in their own personal clubs such as sororities, fraternities, service clubs, etc.

10. Physical health and development. This includes checking on various types of physical and mental illnesses and an annual examination.

11. Sex life. This includes information as to types of literature read prior to marriage and its usefulness. The routine of sex activity and success and failures incident thereto.

12. Personality development and adjustment to each other. Here an attempt is made to get the details of conflict that may arise out of personal habits, involving such things as personal habits about the home, selfishness, dishonesty, differences in ego, ideals, disposition, etc.

13. Larger family relationships. Here is recorded the relationship which the couple have to their parental families.

14. Personal friends and premarital chums. A little information is obtained here on the continued relationships which the couple have, individually and jointly, to their closest friends before marriage and development of social satisfaction through their married life.

In cases where pregnancy occurs during the period of study, the individuals have the opportunity of an intensive monthly contact with the physical-growth department of the school for nutritional and other types of advice and help, and in these cases the child is brought in monthly during the first two years of its life for weighing and measuring and obtaining other types of information. The young woman is given such advice as she may want.

Since the data are more or less obtained through continuous

case interview contacts, along with certain physical and other types of record, it is hoped that each individual history may be analyzed in terms of its own significance rather than quantitatively in relation to that of another client. A project of this type involves a good deal of time and consequently the significance which will accrue from it will be largely the intensive study of the fifty or more cases involved, rather than generalizations that can be made from having studied large numbers of clients.

SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Fourteenth Annual Summer Institute of the Society for Social Research, held at the University of Chicago on June 14 and 15, 1935, heard research reports on the following topics:

1. Research on Recent Trends in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago
2. Chicago Studies
3. Field Studies Outside the Chicago Area

In addition, three public lecture sessions were held at which papers were presented on the general topic of the relationship between anthropology and sociology, with special reference to the way in which each would approach the same problem.^a

At the first session Richard O. Lang reported on "Population Trends in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago." Forrest Weller presented "Religion in the Region." Joseph Symons gave a paper on the "Regional Distribution of Crime." Gabriel Almond discussed the "Succession of Leaders in Metropolitan Chicago."

At the second session a series of independent Chicago studies were reported, including such topics as family composition, shelterization, the Negro in politics, opium addiction in Chicago, and the metropolitan business district as an area of specialization.

^a See the *Bulletin* of the Society for Social Research for June 1935, where detailed reports of the papers given at the Institute are presented

At the third session Professor E. B. Reuter of the University of Iowa spoke on "The Interest of a Sociologist in Studying a Primitive Community."

At the fourth session Dr. Sol Tax discussed "Folk Culture in Guatemala." Forrester LaViolette spoke on "Second Generation Japanese in California." The Reverend E. D. Beynon of Detroit presented his research findings on "The Hungarians in Detroit." Gus G. Carlson reported on "Gambling in Detroit."

The fifth session consisted of an address by Dr. Reginald A. Radcliffe-Brown on the subject, "An Anthropological Approach to the Study of Contemporary Society."

At the dinner meeting of the Institute, which was in a lighter vein, speeches were made by Drs. Ben Reitman, Fay Cooper-Cole, and William F. Ogburn.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,
REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published from September to May, inclusive, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1935

State of New York } ss
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, The Journal of Educational Sociology.	32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Editor, E. George Payne	32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Jean B. Barr	32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are

The Journal of Educational Sociology, Inc.	32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
E. George Payne	32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are None

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given, also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner, and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her

JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1935

W. K. ACKERMAN

My commission expires March 30, 1936

BOOK REVIEWS

National Music, by RALPH VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934, ix + 146 pages.

Through a wealth of illustrative material, the author traces the evolution of the folksong, clearly demonstrates that in a very real sense it is the voice of the people, and concludes that even such a masterpiece as Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* is universal art only because it is so intensely national. "The art of music above all other arts is the expression of the soul of a nation."

Those who envision a totalitarian world and who see in the universality of music an entering wedge for the elimination of national cultures will take sharp issue with the author. It will, however, be difficult to refute the keenness of his logic and to disparage the aptness of his illustrations.

The Challenge of Leisure, by ARTHUR NEWTON PACK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, 244 pages.

As the title implies, this is another addition to the rapidly growing body of literature dealing with the constructive use of leisure. The distinctive contribution of this very readable little book is that it describes a wide variety of leisure activities in such a manner as to elicit the reader's interest in them.

European Policies of Financing Public Education Institutions, I. France, by FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT. California: University of California Press, 1933, 179 pages.

To this century belongs the credit for emphasizing the problems of school finance and administration. Among the leading students of this important phase of public education is Fletcher Harper Swift. This publication is one of his best contributions.

Our country has seen a marked evolution in educational finance. The small taxing and administrative school unit is slowly giving ground to larger school districts and to increased state support of public education. Equalization of educational opportunity is the standard that underlies this movement.

The economic distress of the last five years has resulted in a notable increase in national support of education. The timorous say that it is due to emergency causes, but many hope and believe that it is only the beginning of a new movement in financing American education. Dr.

Swift turns to Europe for comparative data on this vital question.

Sources of national school revenues, trends in financing primary schools, national and local support of primary education, financing vocational education, financial practices related to secondary-school expenditures, financing higher education, and budgetary procedure are the topics in general that are well reported in this study of France's policy regarding education.

The student of educational finance must keep in mind the differences in conditions between France and the United States in reading this publication. The histories of the two countries are by no means negligible factors either. Nevertheless, the report is a valuable contribution to our literature on educational finance.

One more warning—what is our basic social philosophy, what changes in our economic practices must be considered in studying school finance? This report does not pretend to discuss these questions but back of French policy and back of American practices these matters are of paramount importance. The critical reader will probe deeply into these questions and will find help in Dr Swift's study.

The Catholic Church in Action, by MICHAEL WILLIAMS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935, 358 pages.

This is a concise and candid description of the organized system by means of which the Catholic Church carries on its work in the world today. The first part describes the function and activities of the Church in Rome; the last half presents the organization of the Church throughout the world.

Although the author states, and rightly, that the account is noncontroversial in that no defense is made of the fundamental teachings of the Church, so frank a statement of doctrine cannot be other than controversial to those who do not accept its basic tenets.

Written for the average reader, Catholic and non-Catholic, this book gives the most comprehensive yet at the same time concise description of the Catholic Church that has come to the reviewer's attention.

Family and Society, by CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN AND MERLE E. FRAMPTON. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1935, 595 pages.

This book is of more value as a study of the life and sociological theories of Frederic Le Play than as a text in a course on the family,

such as the title would indicate it to be. Part II (77 pages) is on the life and method of family study developed by Le Play, and Part IV (235 pages) is a condensation of Volume I of Le Play's *Les Ouvriers Européens*, which contains his "whole doctrine." The few Ozark family case studies in Part III are of interest and value for supplementary reading and analysis in a course on the family.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Conference on Three Special Problems in Guidance New York: Department of Psychology, Fordham University Graduate School.
Democratic Governments in Europe, by RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, et al New York. Thomas Nelson and Sons.

Freedom and the Spirit, by NICHOLAS BERDYAEV. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons

Girl in the Rural Family, by NORA MILLER. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

Great Change, by RICHARD T. ELY AND FRANK BOHN. New York. Thomas Nelson and Sons.

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Labor and the Government, edited by ALFRED L. BERNHEIM AND DOROTHY VAN DOREN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of, 1934. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

Negro Politicians, by HAROLD F. GOSNELL. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

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Nineteen-Thirty-Two Campaign, by ROY V. PEEL AND THOMAS C. DONNELLY. New York Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

Origin and Development of the Power and Duties of the City-Wide School Superintendent, by THOMAS McDOWELL GILLAND. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

Origin and Development of the Public School Principalship, by PAUL REVERE PIERCE. Chicago The University of Chicago Press.

Outline of Town and City Planning, by THOMAS ADAMS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Parent Preferences of Young Children, by MARGARET SIMPSON. New

York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University

Pareto's General Sociology, by LAWRENCE J. HENDERSON. Cambridge. Harvard University Press.

Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord, by HARRIET R. MOWER. New York The American Book Company.

Political Ethics, by DANIEL SOMMER ROBINSON. New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Propaganda and Promotional Activities, by HAROLD D. LASSWELL, et al. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press

Psychology and Health, by H. BANISTER. New York The Macmillan Company.

Radio and Education, edited by LEVERING TYSON. Chicago The University of Chicago Press.

Realistic Theology, by WALTER MARSHALL HORTON. New York. Harper and Brothers.

Rural, Social and Economic Areas in Central New York, by DWIGHT SANDERSON. Ithaca. Cornell University Agricultural Experimental Station.

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EDITORIAL

The present world economic depression has been complicated by revolution, social reconstruction, and international misunderstandings. For that reason it seems pertinent to devote this number of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY to articles dealing with educational problems of world significance.

The articles include factual material and opinion. Of course the editors assume no responsibility for the opinions of authors but regard these articles as important for the educator in gaining a better international understanding.

HOW CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS VIEW THE CLASS STRUGGLE¹

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In our times, when social attitudes are in flux, any poll of public opinion bearing upon the methods of economic reconstruction is likely to be of interest to the student of public affairs. During the winter of 1933-1934, the Fellowship of Reconciliation conducted a poll of its membership to determine the extent to which its traditional Christian pacifist position would have to be modified by the rising class struggle. Many of its members, liberal Protestants, were conscientious objectors to war, but they were also strongly allied in sympathy with socialist and other movements toward industrial democracy. They had previously gone on record in support of "a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another." As it became increasingly evident that the new order might have to go through violent birth pains, some leaders of the Fellowship (henceforth F. O. R.) were ready to give vigorous and militant support to the workers' cause. Others maintained that even in this important struggle the ideal of love rather than that of force must be the standard. The dispute was referred to the membership, and the following questionnaire drafted:

Please Answer This Referendum Immediately

At the Annual Conference held at Swarthmore, October 13-15, 1933, the Council of the Fellowship appointed a committee to draft a referendum to the membership on the issues of principle and policy that were before the conference. The conference dealt with the problem of pacifism in the world crisis. One of the issues sharpened by the conference has to do with the meaning of pacifism in the class struggle.

We are submitting to you the following questions to which we need an expression of opinion from you as a guide for our future policy and

¹ Manuscript submitted November 20, 1934

work. Though we should like you to sign your name to this referendum you need not do so.

- I. Do you believe that the F. O. R. should be primarily a religious fellowship and should emphasize the Christian approach to personal and social problems? Yes No
- II. Put a check beside one of the paragraphs below which, from the point of view of your own position as to the struggles of workers or other underprivileged groups, seems to you best to express how far the F. O. R. should go.

In seeking for "a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another," I believe the members and secretaries of the Fellowship should go so far as to.

1. Proclaim the ideal of such a social order and endeavor through methods of love, moral suasion, and education to bring in the new order, but refuse to identify themselves with either the underprivileged class or the privileged class to the virtual exclusion of the other.
2. Identify themselves with the just aims of the workers and underprivileged, and protest against the use of violence by the police, militia, and underprivileged groups, raise and distribute relief to workers striking for a living wage; attempt peacefully to maintain the civil liberties of exploited groups and espouse publicly their aims, but without the use of any form of coercion.
3. Assist in organizing the workers into unions and in leading them in strikes for a living wage, and if need be in a nonviolent general strike, assist in organizing the workers into a political party which will use nonviolent political and economic coercive measures in order to secure the abolition of capitalism, but dissociating themselves from any group that used armed violence to gain its ends.
4. In case the legal owners of the essential industries resort to armed force in an attempt to maintain or to regain control of their property, refuse to use violence against them, but offer to serve the workers as a social worker among their families, as a maintainer of food supplies, as a nurse or stretcher bearer, or in other nonviolent ways.

5. In the situation described in No. 4 consent to the use of armed force if necessary to secure the advantage of the workers, but regretfully and only while the necessity for it continues.
 6. In anticipation of general class warfare, assist in the arming of workers and in other ways prepare them for the struggle; when war is fully joined, urge workers to acts of violence and participate with them in such acts.
- III. Should the F. O. R. hold to nonviolence in the class war as well as in international war? Yes No
- IV. A secretary of the F. O. R. should in my opinion resign if his position with reference to the class struggle is
- II. 1; . 2; 3; 4, . 5, 6.

(Please use the other side of this sheet for any comment you may care to make upon this referendum or your answers to it.)

Name
Address

Approximately a thousand replies were received from all over the United States; of these 929 were suitable for tabulation. The results showed beyond question that the overwhelming majority retained the traditional F. O. R. position. They wished to be a religious agency (81 per cent), they rejected the use of force for any purpose (93 per cent); they thought secretaries who would consent to the use of force in a class struggle should now resign (82 per cent).

It is of some interest to examine differences in attitude between men and women, residents of towns and cities, and those from different sections of the United States. Of course the results can in no sense be said to be typical of the group or section, for the answers come only from members of a highly selected group, the F. O. R. Nevertheless within such a common-purpose fellowship other differences may exercise some influence, as is shown in Tables I and II. (Totals are often less than 1,000 because some personal data were omitted from the questionnaire. Joint returns from husband and wife were not included in the comparison of men's answers and women's answers.)

TABLE I

*Group Differences in Attitude Among Members of the F. O. R.
Toward Violence in Economic Struggle*

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Towns (under 5000)</i>	<i>Cities (5000 and over)</i>	<i>Signed</i>	<i>Anony- mous</i>
<i>No. of Cases</i>	415	246	427	336	895	34
1. The F. O. R. should be primarily religious . . .	80%	78%	85%	75%	81%	53%
2. F O, R. policy in "building a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited" should go only so far as.						
<i>a)</i> love, moral suasion, proclamation, education; no "class" basis	23	19	23	20	26	11
<i>b)</i> identification with workers and underprivileged, participation in relief, seeking civil liberties, avoiding coercion . . .	18	27	24	17	25	6
<i>c)</i> organizing unions, aiding in strikes and nonviolent general strike, political action; economic and political but not military coercion . . .	18	12	17	16	20	8

TABLE I (continued)

Attitude	Cities					
	Men	Women	Towns (under 5000)	(5000 and over)	Signed	Anonymous
d) offering nonviolent service to workers in case violence is used against them	32%	30%	31%	31%	22%	33%
e) consenting regretfully to use of armed force by workers if armed force is being used against them	7	10	3	13	6	28
f) anticipation of class warfare; assist in arming workers; join them in the struggle	2	2	1	2	1	14
3. F. O. R. should hold to nonviolence in class war as well as in international warfare	91	91	94	86	89	61
4. Secretary of F. O. R. should resign if he believes:						
a) only in love, moral suasion, proclamation, education, with no class basis	5	5	3	7	6	20

TABLE I (continued)

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Towns</i> (under 5000)	<i>Cities</i> (5000 and over)	<i>Signed</i>	<i>Anony- mous</i>
b) in identifying with workers and underprivileged, helping in relief, seeking civil liberties, avoiding all coercion	4%	1%	1%	4%	4%	22%
c) in organizing unions aiding in strikes, nonviolent general strikes, political action, economic and political but not military coercion	6	3	4	5	5	9
d) in offering nonviolent aid to workers, in case violence is used against them	3	2	2	4	3	6
e) in consenting, with regret, to use of armed force by workers if armed force is being used against them	33	34	35	33	33	14
f) in anticipating class warfare, preparing and arming workers and joining them in the struggle	49	55	55	47	29	49

TABLE II

*Sectional Differences in Attitude Among Members of the F. O. R
Toward Violence in Economic Struggle*

Attitude	Per Cent in Agreement							
	All	New Eng-land	N.Y. City	Mid-At-lantic	Mid-Wes-tern	South	Rocky Mts.	Pacific
No. of Cases	809	110	108	264	229	47	40	11
1. The F. O. R. should be primarily religious	81%	86%	64%	81%	85%	87%	73%	71%
2. F. O. R. policy should go only so far in building a "social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited" as:								
a) love, moral suasion, proclamation, education; no "class" basis	26	23	11	26	19	31	9	16
b) identification with workers and under-privileged, participation in relief, seeking civil liberties, avoiding coercion	25	24	11	26	18	22	27	24

TABLE II (continued)

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Per Cent in Agreement</i>							
	<i>All</i>	<i>New Eng-land</i>	<i>N.Y. City</i>	<i>Mid-Atlantic</i>	<i>Mid-Wes-tern</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Rocky Mt</i>	<i>Pacific</i>
c) organize unions, aid in strikes and nonviolent general strike, political party action; economic and political but not military coercion	20%	16%	13%	15%	22%	9%	46%	16%
d) offer nonviolent service to workers, in case violence is used against them	22	30	37	26	33	30	9	30
e) consent reluctantly to use of armed force by workers if armed force is being used against them	6	4	27	5	6	7	0	11
f) anticipation of class warfare; assist in arming workers and join them in the struggle	1	2	2	2	2	0	9	3

TABLE II (continued)

Attitude	Per Cent in Agreement							
	All	New Eng-land	N.Y. City	Mid-At-lantic	Mid-Wes-tern	South	Pa-Rocky Mts.	Pacific
3. F. O. R. should hold to nonviolence in class war as well as in international war	89%	93%	75%	94%	91%	96%	91%	90%
4. Secretary of F. O. R. should resign if he believes.								
a) only in love, moral suasion, proclamation, education, with no "class" basis	6	2	19	2	6	5	0	3
b) in identifying with workers and underprivileged, helping in relief, seeking civil liberties, avoiding all coercion .	4	1	11	3	2	0	1	0
c) in organizing unions, aiding in strikes, nonviolent general strikes, political action, economic and political but not military coercion .	5	2	4	7	3	8	8	2

TABLE II (*continued*)

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Per Cent in Agreement</i>							
	<i>All</i>	<i>New Eng-land</i>	<i>N.Y. City</i>	<i>Mid-Atlantic</i>	<i>Mid-Wes-tern</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Rocky Mts.</i>	<i>Pacific</i>
d) in offering nonviolent aid to workers in case violence is used against them .	3%	2%	3%	4%	2%	5%	0%	0%
e) in consenting with regret, to use of armed force by workers if armed force is being used against them . . .	33	39	27	35	34	27	33	38
f) in anticipating class warfare, preparing and arming workers and joining them in the struggle	49	54	36	49	53	54	59	55

The differences here revealed between men and women members of the F. O. R. are slight, but a somewhat larger proportion of the women would like to see the F. O. R. support workers with force if necessary. Are women liberals more likely converts to radicalism than the men? Perhaps because they are less involved in the profit system?

The differences between members from towns under 5,000 population, and those from cities over 5,000, are more distinct.

The towns favor a religious fellowship, using only nonviolent means. Fifteen per cent of the city members responding favor alternatives "e" or "f" of question II (consenting to the use of force) but only 4 per cent of the town members feel this necessity. One city, New York, as will be shown later, is partly responsible for this difference.

A small group of anonymous replies was tabulated separately to see whether they differed by more than chance variations from the total group. As is shown in the right-hand columns of Table I, the differences are very pronounced. The anonymous papers came apparently from a nonreligious group of radicals not at all typical of the F. O. R. membership as a whole. The proportion among the anonymous replies urging militant support of the workers was six times as great as within the total signed replies. This finding suggests a methodological consideration. In tabulating any signed referendum, anonymous ballots should not be included in the totals without careful study. Any pronounced deviation from the general pattern strongly hints at "stuffing the ballot box" by a partisan group.

The sectional differences are shown in Table II. The largest proportions of emphasis upon religious purpose come from the South, New England, and the Middle West. The New York City and Pacific coast centers were least concerned with the religious note. This would seem to accord with other evidence and to support the principle that a membership even of a selected single-purpose group does get colored by the prevailing sentiment of the milieu.

The most marked sectional deviation is the New York City group, 29 per cent of whom would consent to use military force if such force were being used against the class interests of workers. The Pacific coast group gives 14 per cent to this atti-

tude; all other groups less than 10 per cent. None of the members from the South would anticipate a class struggle and assist in arming workers. A secretary who believed only in forces of love and education on a "classless" basis would be eliminated by 19 per cent of the New York City membership, but by 6 per cent or less in any other section. Conversely a secretary who would consent to the use of force should resign, in the opinion of more than 90 per cent of the votes from members in the New England States, the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States, but only 63 per cent of the New York City constituency takes this position.

Clearly New York City does not provide an atmosphere typical of that of the rest of the United States. The influence of communist ideology is stronger there, at least among the liberals, than in other sections. There is little evidence, in this study, for the idea that the agrarian forces of the Middle West will lead the coming revolution, but there may be little correspondence between the opinions of Christian pacifist intellectuals and the steps taken by workers and farmers in action.

INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES AND RELATED ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS¹

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More and more during the last few years of social and economic unrest thinking people have expressed concern over the part that the school should play in developing appropriate attitudes toward the problems involved in our changing social order. It has been tacitly assumed that the school may affect the pupil's attitudes toward these problems and that the only question is the type of attitude which is to be fostered or developed.

One field in which attitudinal factors have come in for fairly close scrutiny is that of international relations. It is the purpose of the present article to present an analysis of some of the factors which might possibly affect student attitudes toward this important phase of modern life.

I

Included as one element in a rather extensive testing program, the Neumann Test of International Attitudes² was taken by some five hundred students enrolled in the college-preparatory curriculum in two Buffalo high schools. The problem becomes, then: What is the relation of what is measured by this test to the intelligence, achievement, personality factors, and home background of this group?

Since the testing program was extensive enough to require six class periods for its administration, necessitating the same number of days for testing, not all students were present for all test items. Including only those who were present for three or more periods, there were 458 whose records form the basis of

¹ Manuscript submitted February 25, 1934.

² For a description of this test, its reliability and validity, see G. B. Neumann, *International Attitudes of High School Students* Teachers College Contribution to Education, No. 239 (New York Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926), 120 pages.

the present report. All had expressed an interest in going to college and all, with the exception of a few postgraduates, were classified by the school as seniors. Final tabulation revealed that the group was composed of slightly more girls than boys.

Among the items included in the testing program, and considered in this report, were the following:³ (1) the Neumann Test of International Attitudes; (2) the Iowa High School Content Examination, Form A, sections I and IV (English and History, respectively), (3) a lengthened form of the Opposites section of the American Council on Education Psychological Examination; (4) the Clark Revision of the Thurstone Personality Schedule; (5) a recreational interest questionnaire developed for this testing program; (6) a personnel questionnaire similarly developed for this purpose; (7) a scale to measure opinions and convictions. To supplement this information and afford some measure of school achievement, the complete high-school record of the student, covering both school and Regents grades, was also secured.

In order to define the relationship between the student's attitude as measured by the Neumann test and other indices of his development, those in the highest and lowest quartiles on the test for the entire population ($N=458$) were considered as constituting two groups, A and D, the latter with a strong leaning toward the nationalistic position and the former the reverse. These two groups were then analyzed to see whether or not they were characterized by differences other than that found in their attitude toward problems of international relations.⁴ Two other groups, B and C, composed of those in the second and

³ Not all the items used in the testing program are listed, nor is there any attempt here to justify the use of these items

⁴ Preliminary analyses of the results on this test demonstrate that there is no difference between boys and girls in the extent to which they adopt the one attitude rather than the other. Moreover, the proportion of men and women in the two extreme groups is almost identical (45.7 per cent of men in one group and 45.8 in the other) so that, in the analyses which follow, sex differences have been disregarded

third quartiles, respectively, were also studied. Since, however, the results of the analyses consistently show a steady progression from the A to the D group, only the two extreme groups are considered here.⁵

II

The first items to be investigated in the attempt to discover some explanation for the difference between the two criterion groups, A and D, the internationalistic as opposed to the nationalistic, were general indices of school progress. From Table I, in which the results of this analysis are presented, it is evident that students in the A group are very definitely superior on every count except age to the D group; they enjoy a higher rank in their graduating class,⁶ parallel this with a much better performance on all the Regents examinations they have taken, and are definitely superior in the type of ability measured by the Opposites section of the A. C. E.⁷ The only item for which a statistically reliable⁸ difference between the two groups is not found is age and here the probability is very high that a genuine difference exists. Evidently, then, the international point of view is assumed by those who are definitely better students, with better scholastic ability, and who also tend to be younger

⁵ It is interesting to note that the median and quartile points on this test for this particular high-school group are almost identical with those found by Kulp and Davidson for the groups, also from large city high schools, on which norms for the test were derived. See D. H. Kulp, II, and H. H. Davidson, "Can Neumann's Attitude Indicator be Used as a Test?" *Teachers College Record* 32, January 1931, pp. 332-337.

⁶ This is an index compiled by the high schools of Buffalo and determined by the student's grades in all courses taken prior to the last semester in attendance.

⁷ The Opposites sections of the American Council on Education Psychological Examinations (abbreviated to A. C. E.) for 1930 and 1932 were combined and used as a measure of general ability. The reliability of the lengthened test ($N=522$) is .926, a figure which compares favorably with that yielded by other group tests of general intelligence. The predictive value of this test can be gauged from the fact that it yields an r of .68 with the Regents average earned by this same group.

⁸ Any difference greater than 2.78 times its standard error is considered statistically reliable. See any text on statistics.

TABLE I
STANDING OF THE TWO GROUPS ON GENERAL INDICES OF
HIGH SCHOOL ABILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT*

	Group A (International)			Group D (National)			Diff
	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	S.E. Diff
Rank in high-school graduating class	113	66.9	27.9	105	50.0	25.4	4.68
Regents average	115	82.7	6.7	108	76.8	5.4	7.32
A. C. E.	116	32.5	11.0	113	22.7	10.1	7.04
Age . . .	115	17-7.2	11.4	110	17-11.2	13.2	2.51
First semester average (1933-1934).	116	85.3	6.1	110	80.7	5.3	5.96

* The number of cases varies from item to item due to incomplete school records for some students

It is possible, of course, that the difference between the two groups in the point of view adopted toward international problems may reflect not only this general factor of ability and achievement but also performance in specific fields of study. The results of further analyses undertaken on this basis, given in Table II, yield several interesting conclusions. It is evident, for example, that when the average achievement of the two groups in each of the three major fields of study is considered those who tend toward the international end of the scale secure a reliably higher average grade than the D group. This also holds on the two sections of the Iowa Test and as a whole is consistent with the results presented in Table I. However, it should be noted that the degree of difference between the two groups, indicated by the figure given in the last column of the table, is practically the same both for the literature and language and social-studies average and each, in turn, tends to be

TABLE II
STANDING OF THE TWO GROUPS IN THE MAJOR SUBJECT FIELDS

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Group A</i> (<i>International</i>)			<i>Group D</i> (<i>National</i>)			<i>Diff</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	σ	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	σ	<i>S.E. Diff</i>
Literature and language average .	115	81.0	7.4	107	74.5	6.6	6.86
Social-studies average	115	85.8	8.0	107	79.0	7.0	6.72
Physical-science and mathematics average . . .	115	81.9	7.7	108	77.2	6.2	4.97
Iowa High School Content Social Studies .	114	77.4	14.7	113	64.0	14.1	6.96
Iowa High School Content English	114	71.8	15.3	113	55.0	12.5	9.08

somewhat greater than that found in the case of physical science and mathematics.⁹ This suggests that the cause of the difference between the two groups is not to be traced to a greater interest in social studies, with a concomitantly higher achievement in that field than others, on the part of the A group. Moreover, it will be noticed that on the two sections of the Iowa test the two groups approach one another more closely in their achievement in the social-science section than they do in English. Evidently, then, it is hardly possible to trace the difference in attitude between the two groups to greater achievement in the field of the social studies: those internationally inclined, as far as grades

⁹ Differences in the average grade secured by each group in the several fields should be disregarded. The complete distributions demonstrate that higher grades on the whole are found in social studies. The subject field in which it is most difficult to secure high marks is language and literature, which includes English and all foreign languages.

are concerned, are no more superior to their nationally minded fellows in this field than they are in English. Other sources for the difference, therefore, must be investigated.

Granted that there is no greater difference between the two criterion groups in social studies than in language average there is the possibility that some of the subjects included in this social-studies average may contribute more than others to this difference. Consequently, in Table III, the standing of the two groups in these subjects is presented. As will be noticed, the number of students involved varies tremendously from one subject to another, so that the data must be interpreted carefully. It is evident from this table, however, that the difference in the social-studies average of the two criterion groups is to be largely traced to the grades received in the several history courses. Economics, for example, apparently plays no part in determining the pupil's attitude toward problems in the field

TABLE III

STANDING OF THE TWO GROUPS ON THE DIFFERENT SUBJECTS
INCLUDED IN THE SOCIAL-STUDIES AVERAGE

Subject	Group A (International)			Group D (National)			Diff
	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	S.E. Diff
History A	106	86.3	10.0	103	79.2	8.6	5.49
History B	19	89.2	9.8	11	70.2	6.9	6.14
History C	114	82.8	10.2	108	74.1	9.7	6.43
Civics	110	89.5	7.9	103	85.2	9.2	3.64
Economics	31	84.3	9.7	28	81.0	8.5	1.31

of international relations.¹⁰ Similarly civics is less significant than any of the history courses in this connection.

Within the field of history, however, there is apparently little distinction among the three courses in the extent to which they discriminate between the two groups. History A (ancient and medieval), for example, and history C (American), the two most popular courses, yield differences of about the same magnitude. When it is recalled that the former is taken either during the ninth or tenth grade and the latter is almost invariably reserved for the year the pupil intends to graduate, that the one deals with ancient and medieval times whereas the second is concerned with the growth and development of the United States from its discovery down to and including present-day problems, and that the pupils who have taken the latter have always first studied the former, the fact that the difference between the two groups is as great in the case of the earlier as the later course raises an interesting question to which an unequivocal answer seems unwise. Does this mean, since those of more international tendencies were as superior in the first course as the last, that exposure to the second course in history has not affected the international attitudes adopted by the student? Or does it mean that all pupils have changed their point of view, although in the same direction, and that a difference does not necessarily reveal this shifting? If it is assumed that the fact that the A group secured the higher grades is evidence of their having profited more by instruction in history, which is then to be considered the source of their more international point of view, the question recurs as to why this should be as true of history A as of history C. On the whole, it would seem that the failure of these two courses in history to separate the

¹⁰ The mean score on the Neumann of all students who took economics is 3.61 ($N=109$). This does not differ significantly from the mean score of 3.65 found for the whole group, suggesting again that instruction in economics does not affect whatever it is that the Neumann test measures

two groups more widely casts serious doubt on their efficacy as far as the attitudinal life of the pupil is concerned.¹¹

One other item in this table should be noted: Participation in the social-studies field is no greater on the part of the A than the D group. In each case there is a small percentage taking history B and economics with almost all the group taking the remaining subjects. Amount of work in this field, then, must also be dismissed as being in any way responsible for the difference in attitude found.¹²

On the whole, therefore, the difference in points of view revealed by the Neumann test seemingly is not to be explained on the basis of quality or quantity of participation in the field of the social studies. While it is true that the A group is superior to the D in the grades secured in this field, this but repeats the pattern characteristic of all high-school work and seems to be solely a function of the general scholastic ability of the students. Support for this position is found in the fact that the superiority is as characteristic of the first as the last course in history taken by these students. In other words, continued instruction in history or the social studies generally does not tend to change the attitudes of these students toward international problems.

III

One more possible explanation of the differences found remains to be explored. With the work undertaken in school yielding little of significance in this connection, nonscholastic

¹¹ This assumption is borne out in part by the results in history B (modern). While it is impossible to generalize from the few cases represented, the actual difference in mean score is here more than twice that found in the case of history C. Apparently, then, it is the content or method of the two popular courses in this field that is at fault.

¹² The mean number of units in the social studies carried by the A group is 2.76 as compared with 2.65 for the D. The difference in means is not significant, being but 1.72 times its standard error.

factors were analyzed to see what light they might throw on the problem.

TABLE IV

STANDING OF THE TWO GROUPS ON NONSCHOLASTIC FACTORS

	Group A (International)			Group D (National)			Diff
	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	S.E. Diff
Willoughby	114	32.4	15.4	114	27.4	12.9	2.65
Recreational in- terest	115	324.1	30.8	111	318.8	34.1	1.41
Opinions and con- victions	113	77.5	11.8	111	66.3	8.6	8.10
Occupational status of parent*	108	1.05	1.44	99	1.13	1.45	.39

* According to the Rulon classification. See P. J. Rulon, *The Sound Motion Picture in Science Teaching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 236 pages.

In Table IV data on some of these points are presented. Taking first the factor of recreational interests, it is evident that participation in recreational life is unrelated in any way to the difference in international attitude which forms the criterion. The score used here is a summation of the ratings given by the student himself as to how much he engaged in a long list of recreational activities and is, therefore, a quantitative rather than a qualitative measure of this participation. Obviously, members of each group participate to about the same extent in the usual recreational activities of high-school students.

There are, however, two other, and perhaps more significant, conclusions which may be drawn from the data presented in this table. In the first place, it should be noted that the occupational status of the parent is practically the same for the two groups

and hence cannot be the causal factor which is sought, both the nationally and internationally minded come, on the average, from the same occupational classification. Secondly, the two groups differ decidedly in the extent to which they are liberal or conservative in their attitude toward social problems as measured by the test of opinions and convictions,¹³ with the internationally minded showing the more liberal point of view. Although this difference hardly explains the corresponding difference in international attitudes, it is significant as suggesting that there may be a more or less generalized liberal or conservative attitude. Allied to this is the tendency for the A group to score more toward the unadjusted end of the Clark Revision of the Thurstone Personality Schedule than the D group. While this is not a statistically reliable difference it is in the direction suggested by other studies of personality adjustment and coincides with the more liberal, thoughtful point of view indicated by the results on the test of opinions and convictions.¹⁴

Finally, there is a group of items touching on the home background of the pupils, not presented in Table IV, which needs to be evaluated. Of all these items only two are of any significance: (1) there are reliably more members of the Roman Catholic faith in the D or nationalistic group and (2) reliably more members of the A or internationally minded group have older brothers or sisters who either have attended or are attending college.¹⁵ To what extent these are causal factors in connection with the difference in attitude found is problemati-

¹³ The test of opinions and convictions was developed primarily for this testing program. It includes a few items modeled on those used by Thurstone in his various attitude scales and utilizes the five-point scoring device found in some sections of the Neumann test. The test has a reliability of .77, determined by the split-half method and stepped up through the use of the Spearman-Brown technique, which makes it satisfactory for group comparisons.

¹⁴ See E. S. Jones (editor), "Studies in Articulation of High School and College," *University of Buffalo Studies*, Volume IX, 1934, Chapters II and III, for a confirmation of this characteristic of superior students.

¹⁵ The difference in the first case is 3.97 times its standard error; in the second 2.92

cal. It seems reasonable, in the light of the preceding analyses to accord them some weight. This is particularly true in the case of the second and is consistent with studies designed to measure the liberalism of college students.¹⁸

It is rather surprising in the case of a number of other items of this nature to find that they are quite unrelated to the distinction between the criterion groups. No significant difference, for example, is found between the two groups in the proportion of parents who are of foreign birth; in each case 80 per cent of the fathers are either native-born Americans or natives of other English-speaking countries. Similar figures hold in the case of the mothers and suggest that an explanation of the difference in attitude on the part of the two groups must be sought elsewhere than in the nationality of the parent. Moreover, the two groups are alike in the number of books in the home and the number of library books passing through the home each month. Difference in contacts with books, at least as pupils estimate their family's use of books, then, must be dismissed as a possible explanation of the difference between the criterion groups. The amount of education enjoyed by the parent similarly fails to differentiate the two groups, so that the cultural level of the home, as measured by this index, like occupational status of the parent, is without importance in this connection.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the data and analyses which have been presented, the following conclusions may be advanced:

1. High-school seniors who are internationally minded as measured by the Neumann test are distinctly superior to those who, by the same criterion, may be classified as more nationalistic in outlook, both in scholastic achievement in all fields and in general scholastic ability.

¹⁸ See Theodore B. Brameld, "College Students React to Social Issues," *Social Frontier*, 1, 21-26, December 1934.

2. This superiority in academic achievement is not confined to the year in which the test was administered but extends as far back as the ninth grade.
3. International-mindedness does not seem to be a function of instruction in the social studies but rather of all academic work. The superiority in academic achievement of the internationally minded group is as much evident in the language and literature field as in history and almost as marked in mathematics and science; moreover, it is as evident in the first course in history as the last.
4. Students who take the international point of view tend also to endorse the more liberal position on a test of attitudes in other fields, suggesting that there may be some basis for assuming a generalized liberal or conservative attitude.
5. For this high-school population at least, all factors in the home background of the pupil except his religious affiliations and the education of older brothers and sisters seem to be unrelated to the difference in attitude found.

These conclusions raise serious questions for those responsible for the curricula of our secondary schools. As far as can be judged from this study, one group of attitudes, those having to do with internationalism, is quite unrelated to the offering of the school and seems to be largely a function of the general ability of the student. Instruction in the social studies may have some value for the pupil; it would seem less effective, however, in determining the attitudes developed by the student as they are measured by the Neumann test than the fact that an older brother or sister has gone to college. The "functional" curriculum which is the aim of educators today seems as yet more an aspiration than a reality.

EDUCATION UNDER COMMUNISM CONTRASTED WITH THAT UNDER CAPITALISM¹

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When the Communists seized control of the Russian empire they realized at once that education was one of the most powerful weapons in changing the ideology of the people away from an individualistic to a collectivistic pattern. Consequently, the Soviet Union presents one of the most interesting examples in all history of an attempt to change the attitude patterns of the people through the control of the schools. What Benjamin Kidd outlined in *theory* to some extent the Communists have attempted in *practice*.

The Soviet leaders soon met many practical difficulties. In the first place there was the problem of getting teachers and school buildings. Under the Czar's régime there was a paucity of schools and some seventy per cent of the people were illiterate. How to use the old teachers and still achieve a revolution in educational method and content was another problem. Under the Czar six hours a week had been devoted to religion and three hours to church singing. Furthermore, the ideology of the teachers was bitterly hostile to a collective economy.

In the second place, the Communists were faced with counterrevolution, civil war, and world intervention. They could not devote adequate time and energy to their schools no matter how much they may have desired to do so.

In the first enthusiasms of the revolution, the children of the professional, propertied, and aristocratic classes were often debarred from the schools, for Communist theory frankly recognized that the schools should be class institutions training the proletariat for Communism and communistic leadership. It was not long, however, before the Soviet leaders discovered that

¹ Manuscript submitted January 16, 1935

this class policy was depriving the country of potential and much needed brain power

It was inevitable also that in the early days an undue proportion of the educational program was spent on communistic theory. Eventually this had an effect opposite to the Communist purpose in making some of the children react against Communism itself.

Almost from the start the Soviet tried to break with dry scholasticism, to close the gap between the school and the outside world. Progressive educational ideas were freely adopted. The Dalton plan, the project method, and John Dewey's ideas were eagerly read and applied. Instead of stressing individual achievement, the children were often assigned group projects. Teachers started with problems interrelated to the homes and communities of their pupils. Beginning with something with which the pupil was already familiar, the chain of interrelated cause and effect was traced until sometimes it included the interrelations of the whole world. For example, a child might be asked to tell where the material in the blouse he was wearing came from. The product could then be traced back to its source and out again throughout the world, wherever the product went. In this way arithmetic, writing, nature study, geography, and history were often intertwined. Sometimes the children were assigned definite and concrete tasks, such as the raising of vegetables to help poor peasants, a clean-up campaign, working with shock brigades on public projects, and assisting in the drive against illiteracy. The children were taught to use their hands, to build things with tools. Painting, modeling, dramatics—all were built into the school life. Children were encouraged to prepare so-called wall newspapers to be posted on bulletin boards with pictures and stories which they themselves had made.

In the effort to link the school with the community life, chil-

dren and even teachers often worked several hours a week in the factory or on the farm. Laboratory trips were made into the community to see existing institutions and how they function, not in theory but in the actual give and take of everyday life. The children also visited the courts and observed at firsthand how justice was administered. Sometimes they were allowed to ascend the bench and actually try a case. Again the children were taken to hospitals in order that they might see concretely and vividly what was being done to promote health. Time was spent in museums of all sorts, from those which depict Communist history to those which portray ancient and modern forms of religious superstition. The prisons have been abolished but the children visited the correctional institutions which have taken their place.

Every school was also a training ground in self-government and self-discipline. The children were all organized and, while they no longer control the school itself, they do have a vital share in the conditions under which they work. Thus within the school is a creative coöperative community built up by the children themselves which is a training ground for self-government and self-development on a group basis.

As time went on it was discovered that while all these methods aroused and stimulated the interest of the children, the schools sometimes failed in giving the pupils the most elementary factual knowledge. The result has been that the Soviet leaders themselves have undertaken a revolution in their educational policy.

In 1932 the Central Executive Committee frankly admitted the defects in the educational system, saying "the main defect of the Soviet school—insufficiency of general knowledge, defective preparation for higher technical training, and almost complete absence of knowledge in such matters as physics, chemistry, mathematics, the mother tongue, and geography—has not been removed."

In April 1934 the government further acknowledged the defects in the school system by adopting the following resolution:

In a number of schools and pioneer organizations children are overburdened to an inadmissible extent with the study of resolutions passed by the Seventeenth Party Congress, questions of Marxist and Leninist theory, and the policy of the Party.

Children of eight to twelve years of age are requested, in schools and in the pioneer organizations, to answer questions which are beyond their understanding or which are so abstract that they antagonize the children even against such phenomena of social life and socialist upbuilding as are within their understanding. Scholastic "questionnaires" are circulated among the children, "political contests" and "political lotteries" are arranged, as well as other artificial and harmful tricks. An animated account of the most outstanding social events which may entertain and interest children is replaced by dull hackneyed instructors and inadmissible senseless coaching.

Therefore, the teachers were ordered to stop such practices and "not to allow the overburdening of children in secondary schools with civic and political tasks."²

The fact is that now the Communists themselves are revising their entire educational procedure. Stalin and Molotov signed a decree which made it obligatory to teach history in a chronological sequence with regard to facts and not political theory. Geography lessons were ordered not to have so much statistics and economic theory and to teach the basic elementary facts. This whole change is emphasized by the director of the institution which trains Marxist psychologists when he says, "Communist education does not mean filling up the children's heads with political slogans, such as 'the class struggle,' 'the bourgeoisie the enemy of society,' 'the ruthless capitalist,' etc." In other words, the Soviet Union today is trying to reconstruct the schools so that they are less political and more educational.

It is obviously impossible in the allotted time to trace the development of Soviet education in detail. In brief the follow-

² *Izvestia*, April 24, 1934, No. 97—5345.

ing system has resulted. There is a general course for all children in the primary school covering the first through the fourth grades; next come the incomplete middle schools with classes from the first through the seventh grades, often called the seven-year school, and then there is the "complete" middle schools from the first through the tenth grades, often called the ten-year schools.⁸ Students finishing seven grades have preferential rights in entering the trade and professional high schools, and students finishing ten grades have the preference in going to the colleges and universities.

Every large factory usually has a school attached to it. For instance, in 1932 the Amo Automobile factory in Moscow had a seven-year factory school with 2,300 students, a technical factory with 1,900 students, an auto-technical secondary school with 700 students, an auto-mechanical institution with 500, a training school for special departments with 3,000, and an industrial academy for the training of executives with 38 students. Of 17,000 employed in the plant, 45 per cent were studying. All classes were related to practical work. A variety of procedures were followed. Some students worked two hours a day in the factory; others worked one day in the school and the next in the factory; still others worked by day in the factory and at night in the school.

The chief aim of all Soviet education, besides indoctrinating with the party ideology, is as follows

1. It must be scientific
2. It must be related to the community and the solution of life problems
3. It is supposed not to be nationalistic but international
4. It must be antisuperstitious and antireactionary
5. It must include an adequate system of physical training

⁸ *Soviet Union Review*, July 1934, p. 134. For articles on education in the U. S. S. R., see the bimonthly *V. O. K. S. Socialist Construction in the U. S. S. R.*, 1933, Vol. 1-2 and Vol. 3.

It should be recognized at once that Soviet education may have its own brand of nationalism and superstition. In practice Communism may be so closely identified with the Soviet state that in effect a form of nationalism is indoctrinated. Further scientific study is needed to determine just what superstitions are being handed on under the guise of political education.

On the whole, in the seventeen years since the Communists took power they have made remarkable progress in the educational field. Ninety per cent of the population is now literate. There are 25,600,000 children in the primary and middle schools in contrast to less than 8,000,000 in 1915. Russia has now almost complete compulsory education in the first four years and in the urban centers this extends through the seven-year schools. By the end of the second five-year plan it is hoped that universal compulsory education will be in force everywhere through the seven-year schools. The Soviet leaders now talk of planning to provide college education for all who want it.

So much for a brief description of the educational system in the Soviet Union. As sociologists trying to understand group behavior patterns we should clearly recognize some of the contrasts which exist between that system and the peculiar behavior patterns with which we are all somewhat familiar under the popular label of grammar schools, high schools, and colleges in the United States.

Before giving these contrasts, I wish to state so that there can be no possible misunderstanding that I clearly recognize the great contribution which our free educational system has made to the Nation. Its record of achievement as a nonprofit agency proves conclusively that it is possible to operate at least one great complex institution using billions of dollars annually without the profit spur as the chief incentive. The concern of this paper is not to appraise American education but to point out certain

differences in the educational pattern in the Soviet Union and in this country. It seems probable that communism and capitalism have each refracted education but in some degree in opposite directions. Time permits the mention of but a few of the significant contrasts.

In Russia there has been a steady and large expansion in education. The per capita expenditure totaled 38 rubles 64 kopecks in 1932, thirty times as much as in 1913.⁴ In the United States we have drastically reduced expenditures for education and have closed over twenty thousand schools since the depression. While this has been happening the Soviet Union has been opening thousands of new schools and appropriating more and more money for them.

The control of the schools presents an interesting contrast. In the Soviet Union control comes largely from a national center. It rests with the *Narcompros* or the Peoples Commissariat of Education and, of course, is under the Communist party. This means somewhat uniform textbooks and educational policy. In the United States there is more diversification. The United States Government does not control educational policy. Here scientific studies have shown that all education from the public schools to the universities are under the control of boards which are dominated by the capitalists but which may be locally appointed or elected. This makes for wide inequality but for a high degree of responsiveness to local demand. The striking contrast with Russia, however, is that the boards are capitalistically dominated.

Professor Counts in 1926 made a study of 532 city boards of education. The result showed that 31 per cent of the boards of education belonged to the proprietor class, 30 per cent to the professional class, 14 per cent to the managerial class, and 7 per cent to the commercial. This means that 52 per cent of the

⁴ *Soviet Union Review*, July 1934, p. 137.

boards of control were either proprietors, managers, or those who were engaged in buying and selling, such as buyers, real-estate agents, and commercial travelers. If the lawyers were added this would give a substantial majority of the make-up of the boards who would probably have class interests which harmonized with capitalism. The five leading occupations in the city boards of education were: merchants, 15 per cent; lawyers, 13 per cent; physicians, 9 per cent; manufacturers, 6 per cent; and bankers, 6 per cent.

In 1932 and 1933 one of the students of the writer made a study of the occupations and of the directorships held by the trustees of the universities with \$10,000,000 endowment or more. Of the 659 directors of the 27 universities in this group, information was secured for 630, or 95 per cent. The occupations or affiliations of these fall into the following general categories:

1. Banks, trust companies, insurance, investments	254
2. Manufacturing and merchandise	141
3. Utilities: power, gas, water, lumber, coal, oil, telephone, mining	111
4. Railroads	63
5. Clergy, educators, physicians, lawyers, other professionals	153
6. Judges	22
7. Editors and publishers	7
Total	751

No person is counted more than once in any single category, but in a few cases one individual might be found included as a director in all or several of the first four groups.

It will be noted that in the last three groups, including all the various professions as well as the editors and publishers, there are 182 or less than thirty per cent of the actual total of

individuals involved. On the other hand over seventy per cent of all are capitalists or business executives.

As a result of the totally different controls in the two countries education in the Soviet Union and in America has contrasting influences brought to bear upon it. In Russia education is influenced by trade unions and a labor ideology. In America it is influenced by business interests and a capitalistic ideology. The practical effect of these differences is large.

For example in New Haven, Connecticut, the teachers during the depression desired to have the children make something practical in their manual-arts work. They found they could get leather in sheets so that the children could make shoes for themselves costing little more than a dollar a pair. This offered a fine opportunity to discuss raw materials and markets. The children were delighted, but the experiment was stopped in short order by the business interests of the city.

The extent to which the public-utility interests went in their effort to control public schools and universities is well-known. The exposures of the Federal Trade Commission are so recent that the facts hardly need to be repeated. It will be remembered that universities were subsidized, college professors were secretly paid, and propaganda in the public schools was widely disseminated. In Connecticut, for instance, a public-utility primer was sent to all the public schools. The primer contained palpable falsehoods about municipal ownership, but it was printed so that the child would not know it had been prepared by the private utility interests themselves.

The source of educational income in the United States and Russia create some differences. In the United States funds for the public schools come from taxation, but since the business interests are heavy taxpayers, the tendency is as we have noted to curtail education drastically in a depression. As for the privately endowed universities, they depend upon the gifts of the wealthy. This means, as the president of Yale University has

pointed out in his last report, that if the income and inheritance tax takes away the surplus of the wealthy the private universities will suffer. Consequently the heads of great universities are apt to oppose certain forms of social legislation or at least to testify in behalf of business leaders such as Insull. Furthermore, much of the endowment of the private universities is dependent upon the high profits of capitalistic concerns.

In the Soviet Union educational funds come largely from taxation, but there are heavy grants from the Soviet state and since there are no business interests to oppose the taxation increasingly large sums have thus far been appropriated.

In the United States to a considerable degree equality of opportunity in education exists. Still thousands of Negro children have not adequate educational opportunity. Even when schools are available and education is free, the children of the poor must be removed at the earliest possible moment in order to go to work. When we come to higher education, as Professor Counts has said, "In a large measure participation in the privileges of a secondary education is contingent on social and economic status."

In the Soviet Union it is the children of the wealthy who have been discriminated against⁶ and reasonably adequate stipends are paid to students in the universities.

In the United States the public-school system fails to make the student question the dominant capitalistic standards. In the Soviet Union education fails to make the student question the dominant Communistic standards. In the universities of the United States there is perhaps more emphasis on pure science and less on the practical application of science to the community needs than in Russia. One doctor of philosophy thesis, for instance, was written on the mechanics of a soap bubble.

In the United States children are kept on what might be termed a baby educational diet for a considerable period. Read-

⁶ A decree enacted in September 1935 prohibited further discrimination of this kind

ing, writing, and arithmetic, fed in baby doses, are the rule in the lower grades with little or no training along social lines. In the Soviet Union the children are early introduced to social problems. They feel themselves part of a great experiment. By the time they are ten years of age the Soviet pupils often have theaters of their own and give plays which deal with real life problems. Science and life are both taken seriously in the Soviet Union. Extraordinary care is taken to make these problems interesting to the child mind. Illin's book, *Russia's New Primer*, is one illustration of this. Even art is used to interest the children in social problems and in Communism, as can be seen from a study of children's books in Russia. Under capitalism controversial questions such as public ownership of public utilities are kept from the grade children. In the Soviet Union similarly questions hostile to Communism may be kept from discussion, but there is no disposition to prevent children from thinking about and discussing pressing problems of social policy.

In the United States the labor policies of the universities toward subordinate employees is often very unenlightened, often not even measuring up to the labor code standard. Occasionally one finds watchmen on duty twelve hours a night, seven days a week, for instance. Even universities which maintain expert teaching staffs in the field of industrial relations seldom permit these instructors to investigate or have charge of their own labor policies. The Minimum Wage Commission of the State of Massachusetts not so long ago discovered that the scrubwomen employed in cleaning the library at Harvard University were receiving less than the minimum allowed by law. In December 1929 the Commission threatened to make public this violation if the pay was not raised to 37 cents an hour by December 26. Instead of complying Harvard discharged the women. An investigation by the Consumers League of Massachusetts showed that Harvard had deliberately paid its scrubwomen two cents an hour less than the State minimum

for nine years. The labor policies of most of the great endowed universities lag behind the standards of expert teachers of labor policy.

In the Soviet Union the labor policies of the universities must be as high as outside concerns. Practically all employees are organized into trade unions.

In the United States there is frequent abridgement of academic freedom for those who are liberal.

The teachers have had a long struggle to enjoy the right of collective bargaining. In 1914 some of the teachers in the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio, formed an organization. The Board of Education wanted them to disband and added a clause in the teachers' contracts which forbade them to join a union during their employment. In 1916 the Supreme Court of Illinois upheld the right of the Chicago Board of Education to dismiss 68 teachers for belonging to the teachers' union. In 1928 the Superior Court of the State of Washington cited this case in upholding the Seattle Board of Education's dismissal of teachers who refused to sign a contract refusing to join the union. The American Association of University Professors investigate cases where professors have been dismissed in violation of their rights. It is extremely interesting that although there have been hundreds of cases of professors who have been dismissed, the writer has been unable to discover a single case of a conservative who was dismissed because of subservience to financial interests, even in the case of professors who secretly accepted retainers from the public-utility interests.

In the Soviet Union those who are known to be teaching in opposition to Communism are not allowed to secure teaching positions or to retain them if they somehow got placed.

In the United States it is not surprising that the product of the school—the average graduate—believes in profit and capitalistic enterprise. The studies made by Counts, Lehman, and Witty determined the prestige which teachers and students give

to the various occupations. On the average they ranked the banker first and the manual worker last.⁹ Similar tests given by the writer in Russia and reported in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May 1927 showed that the ratios were more or less reversed with the peasant and worker ranking first and the banker, merchant, and priest last.

Perhaps the most striking difference between education in capitalistic America and the Soviet Union is in *objective*. In general, American education tends to train for individual achievement usually in the business world, and the acquisition of wealth is lauded as a high achievement. In the Soviet Union education trains for collective achievement on behalf of group welfare. Individual business achievement for private gain and the acquisition of wealth is considered to be almost on a par with theft. The aim is the development of socially minded human beings in accordance with Communist ideology.

In neither country are the pros and cons of national public policy weighed scientifically with much objectivity. Because of the striking differences, however, the Soviet system may be particularly helpful in challenging our pet prejudices, our stereotypes, our illusions and traditional conceptions of education.

Had time permitted other significant contrasts between education in the two countries might have been drawn. In closing, may I reiterate that no attempt has been made to evaluate the educational culture complex in either country, but merely to describe certain differences which are believed to exist. In general the educational pattern in the United States has been refracted by capitalism and that in the Soviet Union by Communism. From a sociological standpoint this is precisely what one would expect.

⁹ This was prior to the depression. Even the American child mind may have been partially affected by the recent examples of corruption in the banking field so that his ranking today might be different.

THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN¹

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INTRODUCTION

The experience of the Scandinavian countries in social experimentation, legislation, and achievement is particularly enlightening. A sensitive social democracy with an articulate citizenry and an unusually responsible body of civil servants has been productive of progressive measures in social reform. In fact, it may be said that in a very real sense these countries have served as a social laboratory.

Certain fundamental elements which exist in the national structure of each of the Scandinavian nations (and more especially in Sweden) have provided an approach to that laboratory control which the economist has always desired. The following elements are basic. First, the national areas are not so large as to have widely divergent sectional interests. Second, the Scandinavian governments possess the two important elements of stability, on the one hand, and a unitary structure on the other. With respect to the former, Scandinavia stands in sharp contrast to France, for example; with regard to the latter, it differs notably from the United States with our federal form of government. Third, an intelligent and critical mass of people possess a very considerable unity of interest, outlook, and general social objective.

Sociologists, and certainly economists, have not recognized the importance of these threefold elements in attempting to analyze and appraise various legislative measures and programs. Since the advent of our national recovery program even that evaluation which purports to be scientific has usually failed to recognize the absence, in our own country, of the social ele-

¹ *Manuscript submitted February 25, 1935.*

ments to which I have just referred. Appraisal of any of the numerous recovery measures on a theoretical, scientific basis is exceedingly difficult. Social action and reaction, in a country such as ours, are lost in a maze of incommensurable economic, political, and social forces. The result is that discussions of our "New Deal" have too frequently been little more than propaganda for, or against, this or that governmental measure.

The function of Scandinavia in recent years has been to supply the economist and sociologist with a social test tube and proving ground. This has been particularly true in the case of such social programs as collective bargaining, labor councils, social insurance, socialized medicine, the care of abnormal, defective, and inebriates, the control of the liquor traffic (the Bratt method), the social ownership of waterfalls, and coöperation. More recently of outstanding interest have been the measures of governmental control of munitions and of "managed currency."

Because of the scope of its influence and implications, the community education movement of Sweden may be regarded as an experiment of special significance. The movement is not only of interest as a program of public adult education but also of importance in its bearing on unemployment relief. And, more than this, it may be suggested that the critical self-education which the community education movement produces is one of the basic foundations of representative government and democracy.

This paper will discuss the history and development, the organization and finance, the scope and method, the results and appraisal, and the significance to the United States of the community education movement of Sweden.

I. HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

What may be called the community education movement in Sweden is not a postwar or depression phenomenon. Originat-

ing in 1902 with the Order of Good Templars, it was mainly identified with the temperance societies but has spread to a large number of organizations including urban and rural people.² This form of popular education—referred to as “the study circles” (*studiecirkelverksamhet*)—exerts its influence on the entire social structure of the country. This work has taken diversified form including reading, reports, lectures, and forums.

Undoubtedly the most important development of the “study-circle” work has been the growth of the “Workers’ Educational Association” (*Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund*), in which organization is now found approximately half of the total number of discussion groups. It is estimated that approximately one million of the population (which in Sweden totals just over six million) participate in the activities of this Association.³ A remarkable record has been established by this Association during the brief period of its activity which dates from 1912. Up to 1929 its accomplishments quantitatively included the establishment of 974 libraries, or special book sections, containing 265,794 volumes; 4,089,968 book circulations; 15,000 lectures; a total attendance of 1,466,190 persons; an average per-meeting attendance of 97; and a study-circle membership of 294,908.⁴

From a social point of view it is significant to see that this growth has not been only of a fairweather sort, although there has naturally been considerable year-to-year fluctuation. This may be seen in the table which follows

² In connection with the history and development of the community education movement, it is of some interest to point out that the so-called “people’s high schools” antedated the origin of the study-circle work. The former, originating in 1868, is highly similar to the famous Grundtvig people’s high schools (*folkhogskola*) of Denmark, to which economic historians give considerable credit in accounting for the cooperative movement of that country.

³ Sandler, Jr., *Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund. Dess uppgift och Organisation* (Stockholm, 1930), p. 1

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

TABLE I
LECTURE-DISCUSSION MEETINGS, 1912-1934⁵

Year	Number of				Average Attendance
	Places	Lecture Series	Lectures	Lecturers	
1912-13	17	30	151	7	70
1913-14	48	112	501	21	100
1914-15	28	45	173	13	70
1915-16	54	74	282	23	108
1916-17	35	63	240	18	102
1917-18	46	61	264	14	116
1918-19	88	106	425	26	91
1919-20	222	315	1,271	53	107
1920-21	229	329	1,322	63	106
1921-22	215	301	1,255	62	125
1922-23	243	321	1,485	70	109
1923-24	141	189	906	46	95
1924-25	219	305	1,544	72	94
1925-26	225	340	1,769	75	92
1926-27	239	359	1,931	77	92
1927-28	260	437	2,370	100	76
1928-29	256	397	2,315	105	75
1929-30	219	389	2,357	129	74
1930-31	208	326	2,080	124	66
1931-32	190	334	2,148	129	74
1932-33	190	313	1,708	101	85
1933-34	171	261	1,381	98	84
Total . . .		5,407	27,878	. . .	

There are certain definite reasons for asserting that the development of community education, reflected in the sixteen-year period covered in the table above, is not a transitory or temporary one. In the first place, the activity of lecture-discussion work was not conditional upon the existence of good times

⁵ *Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund, Föreläsungskatalog 1929* (Stockholm, 1928), p. 7, and *Verksamhetsberättelse 1933-1934* (Stockholm, 1935), p. 126.

or upon bad times; the work and public participation in it were independent of the general economic situation. During the 1912-1928 period, Sweden sustained two periods of adverse industrial conditions. In 1920-1921, the percentage of unemployment rose from 4.4 to 25.7. This was followed by a very low percentage of unemployment in 1922-1924 and again an increased unemployment in 1925-1926^a

It is frequently suggested that the recent public interest in community forum work, such as has been initiated in Lafayette College with its Unemployment College and Community College, is a temporary one and will recede with the return of economic normalcy or prosperity. What has just been pointed out above quite definitely refutes such a suggestion. In fact, there is considerable evidence for the argument that increased rather than decreased interest in community education develops with more prosperous times. This is *not* to be construed that the same *modus operandi*, subject matter, and problems will be of equal interest to the general public. On the contrary, with a highly dynamic social structure the community education movement must meet the wants and needs of the public in furnishing highly intelligent and provocative discussion of social problems that are of immediate and pressing concern. In the development of the community education work of Sweden, this fundamental fact has been fully recognized.

This leads me to my second reason for asserting that the development of community education (judging from the Swedish experience) is not a temporary one. It is this with the passing of years social problems—and particularly the economic—become more pressing and vital. The consequent and natural demand from the citizenry of a country with a representative form of government is that the people be given an opportunity

^a Cf. C. J. Ratzlaff, *The Scandinavian Unemployment Relief Program* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), chart II, p. 8; pp. 8-10; and Table XV, Appendix C, pp. 161-164.

to think, to understand, and to express their views on social problems which involve their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The community forum or college in Sweden has provided this as, indeed, Hyde Park has in London, with the distinct difference that the former is guided and productive. The economist can read from the social, industrial history of England during the whole of the nineteenth century an increasing demand of all classes, and of workers in particular, to express their views collectively—even at tremendous cost! It is the conviction of Swedish leaders in the workers' educational movement that this demand will, and should, increase and, furthermore, in it society has a force that should be made productive rather than destructive.

A third reason for maintaining that the development of community education is not a temporary one is found in the nature of the organized educational system. It is the nature of that system to be *relatively* conservative and settled, if not "static." In fact, the sociologist recognizes that all social institutions (whether it be the school, the family, the church, or the state) are shaped by elements which exercise a static rather than dynamic effect.⁷ The social structure, in contrast to the institutional framework of society, is highly dynamic and increasingly so. The result is a growing need for community education not found in the school system. This has been recognized by the Government of Sweden, for its educational efforts do not stop with its highly developed and integrated school system (which involves a yearly expenditure of two hundred to three hundred million kronor for public schools, continuation schools, trade schools, schools for the abnormal, general and technical schools, teachers' colleges, colleges and universities) but go on to grant-

⁷ These elements are psychological, sociological, and economic. Here is a very important field of social investigation which has not been fully treated. One might say, parenthetically, that the influence of such economic elements as contractual rights, overhead and fixed costs, and vested interests are exceedingly interesting.

ing support for the community education activity. As a Swedish authority in the field has put it,

Legally established schools are inadequate to meet the intellectual needs of humanity. Individuals and groups are so many-sided, so dynamic, so full of new desires, that no pedagogue, no scholar, or law-maker can without risk of dangerous mistake say. "Just this education is what the individual and the people need and beyond that nothing else." It is in the last analysis only the individual himself, the people themselves, who know where the shoe pinches.⁸

Such has been the history and development of the community education movement in Sweden. We turn now to the organization and finance of this movement.

II. ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE

In considering the organization which the Swedish community educational work has been given it is to be remembered that the Swedish people are Germanic, with the German bent and desire to have work done in a *planmässigt* manner. To an American it is amusing to note the quickness and extent to which organization and method is applied to any activity in Sweden.⁹ The community education activity is not an exception. Inasmuch as this activity finds its most important field among the workers and also because the Workers' Educational Association (*Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund*) is the most fully and definitely organized, the discussion here will treat with the organization as developed by that Association.

The organization of this Association, which is concerned with approximately half of all the work that is being done in community education, consists of a national, a district, and a local structure.

The national organization is charged with the general guid-

⁸ Sandler, *op cit*, p. 14.

⁹ Although it may, at times, seem to serve very little purpose, organization does make possible thorough and regular annual reports. For the economist and sociologist, Scandinavia is a fertile field of research for the reason that there is no important social movement for which complete yearly reports cannot be found.

ance and supervision of study-circle, library, and lecture-discussion activities. This national organization of the Workers' Education Association is a federation of organizations, which are in themselves national structures for various purposes, such as, trade union, political, coöperative, and cultural ends and which fall within the general scope of the labor movement. At the close of 1929, the national organizations with the numbers of their members which were affiliated to the national structure of the Association were as follows.¹⁰

1. Associations of a trade-union character:	
a) Trade unions which were members of the National Confederation of Trade Unions	508,107
b) Organizations not members of the Confederation	82,707
2. Organizations of a political character	284,381
3. Cooperative societies	421,618
4. Miscellaneous organization	8,921
<hr/>	
Total	1,305,734

The main qualification for membership in the Workers' Educational Association is that the member organization must be a national one, the activities of which fall within the general labor movement. These member organizations must contribute to the Association a fee of 5 öre per member per year, which in 1927-1928 amounted to 65,000 kronor.¹¹ The advantages to be gained from membership in the national organization of the Association are essentially two: the study circles, libraries, and lecture courses can get grants from the Association, and the Association gives cost-free instruction and leadership from its central office.

¹⁰ Sandler, *op cit*, pp 21-22. The total number given here does not represent individual membership. Allowing for approximate double-counting, the membership may be estimated at 600,000.

¹¹ For approximate purposes, the *krona* may be regarded as equal to 25 cents. There are 100 öre to a *krona*.

The functioning of the national organization centers in the council and the executive committee of the Association. A representative in the former is conditional on the component organization having at least five thousand members. No organization has more than four representatives.¹² The executive committee, composed of six members, has the direct management of the Association. Its function is twofold; namely, economic and educational. It selects and furnishes meeting places and plans discussion-lecture meetings. Eight committees have been set up (in 1920) by the executive committee. One is assigned to each of the following fields: economics, political and municipal science, socialism, philosophy and religion, classical literature, special subjects for women, amateur theater, and music. Each of these committees announces its special curriculum for the year and distributes literature. A "lecture committee" was created (in 1921) whose function it is to prepare the annual lecture catalogue. This Committee selects the lecturers only after personal interview in each case. The aim here is to assure that "the presentation should always be fully factual and the lecturer should present facts and evidence in an impartial way."¹³ Finally, the most active part of the functioning of the national organization is found in the central office, under the direction of a superintendent-treasurer. This office (located, of course, in the capital city, Stockholm) administers state and municipal grants, extends grants for lecture work, receives and expedites circulating library material, gathers reports from study circles and lecturers, edits and distributes the Association's official organ ("A. B. F."), acts as a general clearing house for the community education movement, etc.

¹² The Confederation of Trade Unions (*Landsorganisationen*) has 4; the Co-operative Union (*Kooperativa Förbundet*) and the Social Democratic Party (*Socialdemokratiska Arbetarpartiet*) have 3 each.

¹³ Sandler, *op cit*, p. 27 (Compare what is said in the following section of this paper.)

Now as to the district organization. This part of the organization, which goes back to 1917, has now resulted in 35 district administrations. There is at least one district organization for each province.¹⁴ The general purpose is the same for all of these; that is, to work out suggestions, to arrange grants from the central office, and to secure lecturers for the district. It is also the obligation of the district office to render reports to the central office and to the state.

The local organizations by 1928-1929 numbered about one thousand. The management of these is in the hands of a council made up of members appointed by trade unions, young people's clubs, or other groups whose national organizations are members of the Workers' Educational Association. Other societies may, however, become affiliated. The main purposes of the local organization are to secure such financial and also other assistance from the central office as are available, to obtain a grant from the provincial government, and to determine the general direction of the community education work. The term "general direction" is used advisedly inasmuch as full freedom of local activity is regarded as a fundamental prerequisite. Equally fundamental, however, is it regarded that the community education efforts shall be nonpartisan; capitalism, socialism, or any other "ism" is entirely out of the picture. We shall return to this point in the discussion of the following section.

In Table I, the scope of the work in community education has been indicated. In connection with the discussion of the organization of this work, references have been made to the financing and grants which this work involves. What now can be said of the costs and the way in which they are met? Table II, which follows, gives this information.

¹⁴ Sigfrid Hansson, *Arbetsrörelsen i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1930), p. 155

TABLE II
THE FINANCING OF THE SWEDISH LECTURE-DISCUSSION
MEETINGS, 1912-1934¹⁸

	Costs (in kronor)			Financial Grants (in kronor)		
Total	Hono- raria, travel- ing ex- penses, etc.	Local expendi- tures, rent, etc.	Aver- age cost per meeting	Local govern- ments	Workers' Educa- tional Associ- ation	State
1912-13	2,512	1,898	614	16.64	1,740	772
1913-14	9,868	7,480	2,388	19.69	5,518	4,350
1914-15	4,033	3,249	784	23.31	2,154	1,879
1915-16	6,940	5,282	1,657	24.61	4,091	2,848
1916-17	5,680	4,666	1,013	23.67	3,088	2,491
1917-18	7,079	6,191	887	26.81	3,572	3,506
1918-19	20,680	14,560	6,120	48.66	12,395	8,285
1919-20	56,019	39,628	16,391	44.07	33,016	11,753
1920-21	65,545	46,946	18,599	49.58	41,599	8,696
1921-22	55,777	43,229	12,548	44.44	35,074	2,203
1922-23	65,649	55,315	10,334	44.21	34,199	13,450
1923-24	37,953	31,552	6,401	41.89	18,910	2,043
1924-25	64,892	54,972	9,919	42.05	28,912	18,980
1925-26	74,398	61,791	12,606	39.71	34,420	22,977
1926-27	76,084	64,093	11,990	37.44	38,013	14,071
1927-28	92,799	77,161	15,638	37.97	49,546	19,253
1928-29	87,353	74,086	13,266	37.73	43,371	17,981
1929-30	87,135	74,031	13,103	36.97	43,160	17,974
1930-31	74,426	63,776	10,649	35.78	35,972	12,454
1931-32	80,456	67,166	13,289	37.45	40,937	13,519
1932-33	63,521	52,804	10,717	37.19	38,156	5,365
1933-34	53,797	43,921	9,875	38.95	38,671	7,826
Total	1,092,609	893,809	198,799		581,521	212,787
						299,300

¹⁸ *Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund*, *op cit.*, p. 7, and *Verksamhetsberättelse* 1933-1934, *op cit.*, p. 126. In this table, I have given the amounts only in crowns and omitted the fractions of a crown as not being of sufficient consequence to warrant the detail. My totals, therefore, are not exactly those which one would get by actual addition of the items.

The most significant fact which one draws from these statistics is that the cost, in terms of the total or of the average cost per meeting, is remarkably small. The latter has varied from \$4 to \$12.50. (The crowns may be converted into dollars with approximate accuracy by regarding the "krona" as \$.25.) It is also important to note that there is threefold financial support, which is indicative of the fact that this form of community education is regarded to be of significance to the local community, to the individual personally, and to the state as a whole.

We shall consider, in the next section, the scope over which the Swedish community education exercises its influence and the method which it employs.¹⁸

¹⁸ This article is appearing in two parts, Part Two appearing in a later issue of the JOURNAL. Part Two will include the topics: Scope and Method, Results and Appraisal, and Significance to the United States.

THE SOCIAL MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF A THEORETICALLY PLANNED ECONOMY¹

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Mankind for centuries has struggled to improve its social status. Such changes as have transpired with the help of science naturally gave rise to a philosophy of life that identifies happiness and contentment with economic security. Theorization, speculation, introspective analysis, and hypothetical prediction are no longer regarded the hallowed instrumentalities of scholars whose abstruse wisdom has been so frequently the source of prolific wonder and bewilderment to the average person. In fact, the public has reached a point where at times the whole field of abstract reasoning is viewed with unveiled distrust and suspicion. Pure reasoning has never yet solved any applied problem in the practical working world.

From this standpoint, therefore, it may be at least of passing interest to review the social consequences and effects of a rapidly changing political philosophy, a slowly kindling flame of crackling discontent among the masses, a subtly cynical disposition on the part of the average person toward the a priori necessity of rugged individualism, a seemingly positive trend toward governmental centralization of authority which in some respects savors of the implied acceptance of the principle of dictatorship, and a disconcertingly open disregard for the canons of tested experience at times and in places rarely expected. These phenomena obviously mean that the deeper intrinsic spiritual values which have formed the basis of our present social order are rapidly giving way under the stress and strain of economic uncertainty to a new set of standards that are slowly evolving as the result of a policy of social experimentation which at times appears synonymous with blind trial and error.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF DOUBT

Is there any basic justification for the regimented mutability of the legalized social and economic practices of today? Does the changing order of things represent merely a transient phase in the eternal process of social evolution? Are we certain that the formulation of social

¹ Manuscript submitted September 26, 1934

principles that will leave their effects for better or worse upon untold generations still unborn is in competent hands? Can the American people as a whole blindly and without critical analysis accept the doctrine of social telesis without some assurance that it may ultimately represent more than the futile gropings of theorists for the light of cooperative understanding? Should we substitute for chance trial and error, if such is the method in vogue at present, the more substantial ways of reflective thinking?

Doing something is not enough. Action may be mature or childish. It can be helpful or harmful. Its social value will be finally determined by the extent and quality of its effect.

Naturally the individual, whose back is to the wall in the throes of an economic struggle, is painfully conscious of his social plight. The futility of his search for help will be reflected in an attitude of hopelessness, indifference, and nonchalance. The ultimate destiny of mankind, or even the less remote prospects of his own possible amelioration, are of little primary concern. He is interested in the immediate present only. If any event occurs through and by which he can find aid now, that in itself will color and control his thinking. The specious nature of a quick remedy is likely to be entirely unnoticed.

Any program of quick dynamic action should be analyzed, dissected again and again, subjected to hostile scrutiny, and finally evaluated coldly and scientifically without regard to its emotional setting.

The social process is one of eternal change. Its cognition is discernible in the discovery of social reality.

SOCIALIZING POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Democratic government is based on the consent of the governed. It introduces into the field of political philosophy an idealized conception of the intrinsic value of individualism. The average man is exalted and glorified. To him the world of potential opportunity hopefully beckons even as a jeweled mirage. There exists nothing which stands outside the pale of his acquisitive nature. The world is there to conquer if he is able to build the needed authority and prestige. Conflict, struggle, competition, battle—these are the emergents of democratic idealism. They form the basis of a ruthless philosophy that parallels in practice the predatory prowess of beasts of the forest. Only the strong can survive.

Democratic leadership, however, has somewhat mitigated the sever-

ity of living by the utilization of craft and strategy. The spread of education and the advance of science have both contributed to the development of a social consciousness which inherently decries the barbarism of the past and struggles for recognition through the media of a multiplicity of ameliorating principles designed to improve the economic status of humanity. These include constantly recurring attacks on the existence of poverty, persistently organized campaigns to protect the individual against the exigencies of old age, and systematically planned efforts to provide adequate care at public expense of the sick, crippled, and otherwise physically and mentally handicapped who tend to become social charges.

Democracy has been in the process of constitutional development since the original document was definitely accepted. There has been persistingly struggling for recognition among those who comprise the masses an individualistic leaning toward more effective social, economic, and political participation in common affairs. People are becoming more aware all the time of their collective strength and power. An age of general enlightenment is rapidly dissipating the subversive influence of superstition, fear, blind antagonism, and vegetative satisfaction.

The government can no longer justify its nature by citing authorities. There must be in evidence some tangible indication of ability to solve the problems of the populace. Otherwise the system as now constituted places itself in jeopardy. This state of affairs can be changed only by substituting the practical tenets of pragmatism for the dreamy idealism of inert philosophical theorization. The state after all was created to administer more efficiently the common affairs of society.

RUMBLINGS AMONG THE MASSES

Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness constitute an inalienable heritage of the average citizen, but if acceptance of such principles means simply the transmission of abstract rights without concrete means for their exercise the triple phraseology becomes a mere subterfuge without animate meaning. Idealism can find actual exemplification in the practical enjoyment of the privileges connoted if viewed in the light of social criteria. Otherwise, the philosophy of living must be interpreted in terms of rigorous self-abnegation.

The masses are vitally concerned with the standard of living. This is quite natural because their interests are basically involved. It is only when many individuals become dissatisfied personally with their envi-

ronment that a collective mob spirit based on an adverse community of interest develops. Such spirit may be conservative or radical. It may be dynamic or quiescent. Its potentialities for good or evil are about equally balanced.

In industrial mechanization and managerial consolidation, there has unfortunately been established a system of human robots who in truth may well be termed "forgotten men." Brawn and muscle were bought at a heavy discount in a market where no factor except ability to produce was considered. An efficiency shibboleth became the watchword of the times. The machinery of big business was geared to a pitch where the strain became too great for human endurance. When the financial crash came, the world simply collapsed.

If the control of production had been viewed as a means of enriching social values instead of an economic weapon, the consequences might have been far less disastrous. Men do not live for the purposes of trade and barter. Commerce and industry exist rather for the benefit of mankind. The servant will not make a good master without changing the very nature of human relationships. Yet that is precisely what happened.

Ruthless exploitation of the masses by speculative combinations of capital has proven the straw that broke the camel's back. The leadership of big business, then as now, is unresponsive to the newly awakened social consciousness of mankind. It hesitates to admit its guilt, to acknowledge its maudlin irresponsibility, to mend the error of its ways. Meanwhile, men, women, and children everywhere languish in poverty with plenty all around, and the mob, under its own power without a pilot, lashes and surges to and fro, with no purpose in view except recrimination of the most vapid kind.

There can be no especially dangerous heresy in accepting the social principles (a) that every person has the right to work, (b) that commerce, industry, and trade are charged with the responsibility of providing employment for all, (c) that the cost of human sacrifice to the Moloch of business and industry in the form of maimed, crippled, and aged represents an expenditure that society must pay, (d) that the standard of measurement to be applied in the determination of industrial policy should be broadly determined by the principle of the "greatest good to the greatest number."

Such a social program will give to the masses a new lease of life,

eliminate gradually the class cleavage which is daily becoming more acute, and open new vistas of future possibility to the sadly troubled relief groups who are living constantly in the shadows of abject penury. Until some such theory as this becomes a reality, there will be strikes and lockouts, pitched battles between capital and labor, militant conflict between the government and its citizenry, and a steadily rising tide of troubled thinking which will all the time become more combative and insurgent than peaceful and law-abiding.

A PRIORI INDIVIDUALISM

It is undoubtedly axiomatic that individual freedom, undirected and unrestrained, has been considered one of the major criteria of happy living. Generation after generation has toiled, suffered, and bled to reduce the restrictive measures of petty tyranny to legal principles under which conduct could be allowed to find expression within reasonably circumscribed limitations. In democratic nations, the rights of the individual have been jealously guarded and constantly enlarged with the result that every citizen has really become a sovereign in his own way. Possibly the pendulum has swung too strongly in the one direction.

This tendency may be responsible for rather wide acceptance of the doctrine of *a priori* individualism. Every person has in part been imbued with the spirit of taking all that could be had so long as it helped him to improve his economic and social status. Too many unthinking leaders as well as commoners have assayed the role of Machiavelli on a quixotic scale. Without skill or diplomacy they have simply wandered into fields where angels fear to tread. Each man became a God unto himself. His conception of the universe was limited only by sheer inability to extend his own vanity, conceit, and braggadocio. Truly the world for some years has been entirely homocentric.

No individual should be allowed to reach a point in his relationships to society whereby his personal power, influence, prestige, or money may be employed to the detriment of his fellow men. The growth of such economic domination should be checked before thirst for authority or greed for gold are harnessed to crush the many for the callous self-aggrandizement of the few. When the individual, flushed with success through the accumulation of wealth, forgets the debt that he owes the body politic that made his status possible, there remains no recourse on the part of society except to curb his unnatural ego and curtail his objectionable activities with the restraining leash of some form of social

control. He has mistaken liberty for license, and must again be restored to his senses.

If this reasoning is correct, there can be no such inherent principle as *a priori* individualism. All men must be induced to regulate their actions in such fashion that the welfare of the social group will not be adversely affected. The moment that individual behavior harms society, a new ethical standard of conduct is thrown into sharp relief which bears little relation to abstract forms of idealism. It proselytes the hypothesis that here is the real basis upon which moral standards of right and wrong must stand or fall.

Economic control of society, based on the law of supply and demand solely, is today a form of political chicanery that finds acceptance by no responsible party group. Such an attitude by society at large can only mean that rugged individualism for its own sake alone has joined the vast array of impractical philosophies that have appeared on the social horizon for a period of time merely to disappear finally in the innocuous sea of discarded theory.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP

The difficulty that an individual experiences in satisfactorily regulating his own behavior is paralleled by the uncertain and unstable conduct of social groups. As social consciousness gradually evolves, trends may be noted which indicate the extent to which common agreement exists within the group on such matters as invoke mutuality of response. When discordant notes arise in sufficiently diversified fashion to prevent any semblance of unified thinking, confusion, disorder, and chaos develop. The group having lost its entity as an organization of coherent interests is helpless and inert.

Here stands, in all its pallid nakedness, the gruesome skeleton in the closet of democracy.

When population reaches a point at which its size renders true representation in government impractical and impossible of realization, the institutions of democracy are confronted with almost insurmountable administrative difficulties. Private capital devotes its energy and time to the exploitation of the masses. Political chieftains build party machinery in terms of venality and corruption. Ranting demagogues inflame the minds of the untutored populace with insidious propaganda that sound like a panacea for all social evils. Quackery, knavery, humbuggery, and tomfoolery abound in all quarters. Social reformers, like

a veritable brood, fill the air with Utopian schemes which destroy themselves in a visionary melange of theoretical vaporization. Each fundamental social agency, the school, the church, and the home, calls attention to its own basic importance and charges that social instability is the direct result of its own futile efforts to correct the situation due to the failure of society to recognize its peculiar intrinsic worth. Vanity, greed, indolence, and arrogance characterize the individual citizen. All public action is principally froth and foam.

Democracy has failed because its participants and beneficiaries have been unable to understand the meaning of duty and unwilling to accept the burden of responsibility. The cognition of abstract right has been too much for human intelligence to grasp.

Dictatorship arises by virtue of sheer necessity. The dilatory nature of democracy is totally unsuited to the prompt, expeditious, and practical solution of the problems created by an emergency. This situation could not exist if morality of thought and action had been built into the structure of social consciousness during the past century.

Only through social understanding and a clear recognition of social values can the principles of democracy be applied to meaningful living in the present and future. Otherwise, dictatorship or some other form of undemocratic governmental control will prevail.

REVOLT OF YOUTH

While experience is a practical teacher, it too often proves a most costly one. As three decades and ten give way to the next generation, the lessons of posterity should possess some elements of value. This fact is recognized, but awareness of its reality is not in itself enough to warrant the assumption that new experience is not likewise valuable. It is the passivity of human nature that tends to permit such a vagaristic conception to take form. Those who have been seasoned in the welter of bitter experience frequently become unduly cautious, inordinately skeptical, and unreasonably pessimistic.

Youth lacks this background. It tugs at the leash of restraint in search for wider freedom. It is not satisfied to remain circumscribed within artificial boundaries. It seeks to express itself in ways of living that are peculiar to its own nature. It scoffs at tradition and defies authority. This is true because both tradition and authority have obviously failed to disclose the happy and better life. There is nothing radical or passing strange in this pragmatic interpretation of the social value

of a system that at the most can hardly be regarded conservatively successful.

It is the younger generation that asks why an economic condition, with such appalling social consequences as are attached to it at present, has been permitted to develop. Youth observes the facts, wonders about them, and asks to be enlightened. The reasoning employed is simple enough, and takes the form of inquiries such as follow.

Do we have sufficient material resources to feed, clothe, and shelter all our people?

If so, why are people starving?

Has the Government failed to supervise economic distribution effectively enough to make possible the social welfare of all?

Is nature so powerful that man is unable to control its vicious tendencies?

Can mankind devise a method of economic planning, whereby the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of all may be ultimately achieved?

If so, why should any consideration be given present institutions that stand in the way of social-economic reform?

The canons of tested experience mean nothing to such reflective thinking. A dynamic spirit of discovery spurs youth forward with the expectation of finding the answer. It is no longer interested in the opinions of experts which are barren in productiveness. It demands either a solution of the problem or a changed procedure in attempting to find the solution.

This is the story of youthful attitudes and viewpoints.

CONCLUSION

A theoretically planned economy may be possible, but no practical scheme of a workable nature has ever yet been evolved. Our present governmental structure, democratically conceived and inaugurated, has broken in places under the stress of economic adversity. This is regrettable, but not irremedial. Regimentation, without verifiable factual prediction as to ultimate consequences, is untrustworthy, and may prove more harmful than beneficial. The development of a social consciousness, whereby men will interpret the doctrine of cooperative interest in a big way, will make possible a real lasting solution of the whole problem. This can be effected only through education.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SOCIAL ECONOMIC TRENDS IN NEW YORK STATE¹

Because of the very rapid social changes which are taking place today, and because of the obvious need for changes in our educational system to meet changing social conditions, the Educational Research Division of the New York State Education Department has planned a series of studies of trends, particularly trends in New York State. The assumption underlying these studies is that education should be modified in accordance with changing social and economic conditions. It is hoped to use data from State reports and from other available sources in such a way as to point out the educational implications. For example, does the criminal problem in New York State as reflected by admissions to correctional institutions suggest new responsibilities for public education to undertake? May it be that the trend in the growth of mental disease has an implication for the way in which we plan our school offering? Although we have conquered many forms of disease there are certain diseases which have shown no decrease but rather an increase. These diseases seem related to our way of life. May it not be the schools have some responsibility in teaching children how to live so as to conserve health? The reader can easily imagine other questions which may be raised, the answers to which would bring about a closer relationship between education and varied social tendencies or, in other words, make education an integral part of our life.

Only one study has thus far been made but it has proved very suggestive. Dr. Bradford F. Kimball has been working for a number of months on "Changes in the Occupational Pattern of New York State," using data from the Federal censuses. He has been able to analyze these

¹ This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Warren W. Cove, Director, Educational Research Division, New York State Education Department.

data for New York State and the United States under the usual census division headings and also under a regrouping of census data under social economic headings. While in general the trend in New York State is found to be very similar to the trend for the whole country, as would be expected, nevertheless, there are differences which are very interesting and probably significant. For example, in New York State the number employed in the production industries is decreasing more rapidly than for the United States as a whole. On the other hand, the numbers employed in trade, transportation and communication, and clerical occupations have increased more rapidly in New York State than in the country as a whole. Without going into detail there are various reasons for stating that we are passing through a period of considerable occupational shifts, due in large part to technological development. The study presents the exact nature of these shifts.

There are a number of implications for education, probably one of the most important of which is the need for allowing pupils to become better acquainted with occupational changes in order that they may have a better background for planning their occupational lives. Because of the frequent shifts in certain types of occupation, one may say that specialization, at least certain forms, is of less value than formerly. It would seem advisable to encourage school boys and girls to find and develop several interests, any one of which can be turned to vocational advantage when the occasion demands.

It is becoming obvious that trends in one field must be interpreted through the help of trends in other fields, that it will be impossible to get a full picture of desirable educational changes until a number of other studies have been completed. The project as a whole, however, promises to be of considerable value, possibly not so much with respect to enunciating completely unheard of ideas as in making current ideas more specific.

BOOK REVIEWS

Critical Problems in School Administration, Twelfth Yearbook, by the Department of Superintendence. Washington: The National Education Association of the United States, 1934, 383 pages.

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association has performed a signal service to American education in its series of yearbooks. It has appointed commissions that for the most part have been composed of competent students of school administration. The reports have at times been charged with a professional or group-interest bias. This is an open question. The critical reader of the Twelfth Yearbook will deplore the absence of a similar report by a competent lay commission.

The topics discussed, and ably discussed, by the Department's commission relate to the most fundamental problems of school administration: (1) The Structure of Government and Its Effect on the Administration of Schools, (2) The Scope of Education and the Local Administrative Unit, (3) The Financial Support of Public Education, (4) The Lay Control of Public Schools, (5) Professional Administration in School Control, (6) Efficiency in School Management, (7) The Teaching Staff and the Formulation and Execution of Administrative Policies, (8) Economy in School Administration, and (9) Helping Citizens to Know Their Schools.

The facts presented, the issues stated, the problems and questions raised, and the professional viewpoints revealed make this yearbook a distinct contribution to the vast literature on educational administration. To say that the report does not state the last word is not to condemn the yearbook. Rather it is to say that the report should be regarded as the basis for widespread critical thought among educators and laymen alike on school administration.

Educators have in recent years been subjected to reasonable and unreasonable attacks by laymen. The latter have placed the educator in the unfortunate position of a prejudiced judge. The chapter dealing with school-public relationships, therefore, becomes an extremely important one. It needs profound analysis and expanded thought. The schools can be institutionalized to the point where they disregard their primary causes and purposes. The reviewer calls attention to this fact in the interests of public education as an enduring social agency of the

first rank and urges the reader of the yearbook to study the report thoroughly and impartially. Thanks to the commission the effort so made will be amply repaid.

Broadcasting Foreign-Language Lessons, by F. H. LUMLEY,
Bureau of Educational Research Monographs, Number 19.
Edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Columbus. Ohio
State University, 1934, 90 pages.

Dr. Lumley has rendered a distinct service in gathering into one monograph the facts regarding the broadcasting of foreign-language lessons in this and other countries. One leaves the reading of this report with the feeling that the teaching of foreign languages at least in elementary lessons is rapidly finding its proper place among radio programs. The book contains a résumé of experience in foreign-language broadcasting. There is also a report of questionnaires which were sent to those who have been occupied with the giving of foreign-language lessons over the radio. Another questionnaire sent to pupils and teachers in schools making use of radio broadcasts is also reported and tabulated. A study of this information indicates that the chief value of such work is the training which it can afford in proper pronunciation of the foreign language. The study also brings out the fact that listeners enjoy presentations involving more than one voice and that, if schedule difficulties can be overcome, there is a place for such broadcasts in the classrooms of many of our educational systems. Carefully controlled tests seem to indicate more improvement in pronunciation in classes where the radio broadcast has been a feature of the work.

Education on the Air, Fourth Yearbook of the Institute for
Education by Radio. Edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY.
Columbus: Ohio State University, 1933, 379 pages.

I have received these yearbooks from the beginning of the Institute. This one indicates progress in radio study and includes some reports of unusual interest. One group deals with broadcasting techniques, another with school broadcasting, and one with studies of the Co-operative Group. Three research studies are reported and research trends are discussed by the editor.

To the reviewer the discussions in Part I on "National Aspects" present questions, problems, and issues that are of paramount im-

portance. The policies of broadcasting companies are matters of national concern. The attitude and actions of the Federal Communications Commission are or should be reflections of the best thought on radio in America. Hence, discussions of national radio policy are of tremendous social significance. The character and extent of national control of broadcasting, the nature and amount of educational broadcasts, and the scope of commercial interests are examples of problems that illustrate the seriousness of sound planning. Is the radio to emphasize mouthwashes, face powders, and lubricating oils at the expense of high-class entertainment and education of social importance? Herein lies a problem of ownership as well as of control. The point of these comments and questions is merely to urge more and still more discussion of the "National Aspects" of radio comparable to Part I in this Fourth Yearbook.

The Modern Goliath, by MILTON ANDERSON. Los Angeles, California: David Press, 1935, 91 pages.

An insert states that "this book is the first book" from David Press, a new educational and religious press. It is an odd book from two viewpoints (1) it is entirely question and short answer, and (2) it sets forth figures singularly without documentation.

The Modern Goliath is about talking pictures. Sociological, psychological, recreational, educational, and religious questions are answered. Equipment of sound motion pictures, their production, distribution, installation, and cost matters are given attention.

The author goes about his task with the zeal of a religious crusader. One is convinced by a mass of data and, at the same time, troubled by the absence of verification. The critical reader, accustomed to use data, is likely to spend little authenticated time on this volume.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Science and the Public Mind, by BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Science of Economy, by LUDWIG KOTANY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Social Basis of Education, by HAROLD SAXE TUTTLE. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

- Social Changes During the Depression and Recovery*, edited by WILLIAM F. OGBURN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Social Work with Travelers and Transients*, by GRACE ELEANOR KIMBLE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Social Work Yearbook, 1935*, edited by FRED S. HALL. New York. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency*, by MARGARETTA WILLIAMSON. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Soviet Russia Fights Crime*, by LENKA VON KOERBER. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company.
- Stammering and Allied Disorders*, by C. S. BLUEMEL. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases*, by CHARLES C. PETERS AND WALTER R. VAN VOORHIS. State College. Pennsylvania State College.
- Tarahumara, an Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, by WENDELL C. BENNETT AND ROBERT M. ZINGG. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

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EDITORIAL

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY conforms with the academic year in its publication but it seems pertinent at the close of the calendar year to take stock of its eight years of history and to take a glimpse into the future. This editorial survey and preview is appropriate at this time because the previously announced change of emphasis in the type of materials which THE JOURNAL is presenting commences with the calendar and not with the academic year. In a word, with the beginning of 1936 THE JOURNAL, in line with its original policy, will seek to emphasize the practical as opposed to the theoretical emphasis of the past.

Eight years ago last September THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY began its career with the announcement that it was a journal of theory and practice. During those years it has consistently emphasized theory because of the importance of determining the place of sociology in education and the contributions that it had to offer in the construction of an educational program that would more adequately serve the needs of American life. In a sense it was necessary during these years to make a place for sociology in education. This emphasis is no longer necessary for sociology now has a recognized place in education and we can, with profit, turn our attention to the practical aspects of sociology in its relation to educational practice.

During the eight years of its publication THE JOURNAL has won distinct recognition as a publication devoted to the develop-

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ment of a socialized approach to education. It has conceived education as taking place as the result of the combined influence of all community agencies and not merely the result of school instruction, and it has demonstrated that the results of education can be measured only by ascertaining the changes in individual behavior and in community patterns and practices.

During the eight-year history of *THE JOURNAL*, in our judgment, we have lived through the most momentous years in the history of our country, and it is important to give our readers a picture of what has been happening to educational practice during that period, at least in so far as it has been influenced by sociological consideration. We shall, therefore, seek to present specific programs, curricula, and classroom procedures illustrating the application of the sociological approach in elementary, secondary, and adult education in the general and specialized fields. We shall emphasize the methods developed for effective coöperation of all the agencies of the community and the techniques for the directing of all the forces in social control.

It is obviously not our intention to devote our emphasis exclusively to the practical aspects of education any more than we have devoted it wholly to theory in the past. In giving a picture of the educational practices which have grown out of sociological emphasis, we expect to observe due regard for the theoretical implications of the practices described; thus we hope to maintain the policy of the past in giving our readers a distinctive journal that will make its contribution to the reconstruction of the social life and to an understanding of the part that education does and can play in the promotion of the social welfare.

AN EXPERIMENT WITH HIGH-SCHOOL SENIOR VOCATIONAL INTERVIEWS¹

ELLEN WINSTON

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

The value of vocational interviews for students has been frequently stressed. Hence it is rather curious that the possibilities for such interviews have not been utilized more widely. Any fair-sized community contains a sufficient number of persons well trained in a variety of occupations to make possible the development of a consistent program for individual or group interviews. It is true that many vocational counselors utilize men and women in various professions as speakers to students, frequently in carefully selected groups. In other cases special days are arranged when representatives of many occupations come to the school at the same time to discuss specialized vocations,² but these are in their very nature more or less artificial as they take place in the school rather than in office or factory or laboratory where actual work is in progress. The type of interviewing to be described here tries to avoid that feature and it is believed that it is widely applicable both for well-organized guidance programs and for schools where little time is devoted to this important field.

In connection with the development of the guidance program of the Needham B. Broughton High School of Raleigh, North Carolina, with its thousand students, a need was felt for vocational interviews for seniors, students who were soon to leave the high school and who needed specific help in bridging the gap between high school and college or a job. Inasmuch as the guidance work with its far-reaching activities was in charge of a director who was teaching in a relatively unrelated field for two thirds of the day, a system for utilizing the resources of the community to the best advantage with a minimum of demand on her

¹ Manuscript submitted July 27, 1935

² See, for example, Barbara Wright, "A Method of Using the Group Conference as a Guidance Device," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, VII, 1 (October 1928), pp. 26-33.

time was essential. The program was initiated late in the spring of 1932 and was carried further during the spring of 1933. It is still in a formative stage but its flexibility is one of its values.

Early in the spring term, each senior was asked to fill in a simple questionnaire giving vocational interests and stating whether or not he or she planned to go to college. Students were then asked whether they would like to have an interview or interviews arranged for them with some person who was already engaged in the designated occupation or occupations. It was carefully explained to the students that the program was entirely voluntary and that they were to request interviews only if they felt that the results would be helpful. In the class of 1933, 34 of the 49 boys and 38 of the 66 girls signified their desire for such interviews. Students who did not request interviews frequently stated their reasons. By this second year several of the boys and girls, seeing the value of the beginning the previous year, had already had interviews on their own initiative. Other students who intended to follow in the footsteps of members of their families felt that they could secure all the needed advice at home. Others felt that their plans were still too indefinite for such interviews to be of value.

A significant sex difference is noticeable in the proportion of students desiring the conferences. Among the boys 69 per cent requested such assistance, while 58 per cent of the girls asked for interviews. Moreover, there was a more decided tendency on the part of the boys to be interested in interviewing experts in more than one field.

The table showing the distribution of I. Q.'s by sex is significant. There seems to be a slight tendency for the brighter students to be more desirous of having interviews.⁸ It will also be

⁸ The small proportion of girls in the higher brackets is due to a tendency on the part of well-to-do parents to send their daughters to two good private schools in the city.

noted that the boys were slightly more consistent in keeping the appointments for interviews than were the girls. Inasmuch as the interviews were arranged for groups, it was not always possible for all students to attend on a given afternoon, though every effort was made to select the most convenient date. The most important fact, however, is that 77 per cent of the 43 boys, but only 54 per cent of the 56 girls, actually had interviews. In spite of the increasing entrance of women into vocational fields, so far as the present group is concerned, senior-high-school girls do not yet regard the choice of a vocation as seriously as do boys.

INTELLIGENCE-TEST SCORES OF 43 SENIOR BOYS*

	<i>I Q less than 90</i>	<i>I Q 90-99</i>	<i>I Q 100-109</i>	<i>I Q. 110 and over</i>
Having interview .	2	3	20	8
Not having interview	0	4	3	3

* Four boys who did not keep their appointments, one boy for whom the desired interview could not be arranged, and one boy who had had previous appointments are not included

INTELLIGENCE-TEST SCORES OF 56 SENIOR GIRLS*

	<i>I. Q less than 90</i>	<i>I Q 90-95</i>	<i>I Q. 100-109</i>	<i>I Q 110 and over</i>
Having interview .	5	11	13	1
Not having interview	6	11	8	1

* Seven girls who did not keep their appointments, two girls for whom the desired interviews could not be arranged, and one girl who had had a previous appointment are not included

The range of occupational interests of the students is shown on page 198.⁴

The total number of choices considerably exceeds the number of students requesting interviews as the various choices are included. As classified here, both boys and girls were interested in fourteen different fields.

From various sources advice was secured with regard to who should be asked to grant the students interviews. With one ex-

⁴ In general, students who had no definite vocational preference did not request interviews.

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Engineering	12	
Secretarial work		12
Medicine	9	
Business	8	1
Interior decoration		8
Teaching	2	5
Nursing		7
Journalism	4	2
Home economics	1	5
Aeronautics	5	
Art	1	3
Law	3	
Library work		3
Music		2
Physical education		2
Forestry	2	
Chemistry	2	
Ministry	1	
Social service		1
Botany		1
Architecture	1	
Government clerk	1	
Dramatics		1
Undecided		1

ception, the individuals selected were most coöperative and appeared to meet the needs of the students satisfactorily. Instead of having these men and women come to the school, the students went to them in groups or occasionally individually after school hours. The girls interested in secretarial work did not discuss their needs abstractly in a classroom, but visited a busy and efficient secretary in her office. The boys planning to study medicine had the privilege of actually seeing an operation performed in addition to receiving advice concerning training, etc. In order to ensure the interviews' value, the students were carefully coached as to the type of information for which they should ask, while

the persons interviewed were also given definite suggestions by the guidance director concerning the needs of the boys and girls.⁵

At the conclusion of the series of interviews, the seniors were again asked to fill in brief questionnaires, stating what they considered the points of chief value which they received from the interviews. The following answers were typical.

"That I did not want to be a doctor."

"I learned what course to take at college to carry out my purpose of teaching high-school English."

"I found out what the prospects in the future are for aeronautics."

"Always find time for learning more. Keep the office neat. Obtain as much education as possible. Dress to suit your surroundings."

"The choice of colleges; the possibility of a position after college; the types of work."

"Course of study to be taken at college. Future for a girl in business."

From the point of view of the school administration, the following very definite outcomes were secured.

1. Students were shown that certain occupations did not appeal to them and should not be entered upon.
2. Many students had their interest in specific occupations strengthened and determined to pursue them, equipped with a sound body of information concerning them.
3. Girls were offered an equal opportunity with boys for investigating the vocational field.
4. A large proportion of the senior class took advantage of the interviews and unanimously recommended their continuance during the coming year.
5. Knowledge of the senior interviews quickened the interest of the entire student body in vocational information.
6. Cooperative contacts were established between the school and the various occupational groups in the city.

⁵ For a somewhat similar use of community resources, though not under the direction of the school counselor, and for boys only, see Emanuel E. Ericson, "A Cooperative Guidance Program," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, IV, 4 (January 1926), pp. 158-162.

ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD PROFESSIONS¹

H. G. DUNCAN AND WINNIE LEACH DUNCAN

University of Colorado

The college student, particularly for the past few years, faces an uncertain future; all the more uncertain because he does not weigh his own possibilities and define his own situation in relation to societary demands. Acting upon this supposition, engendered by years of observation, the authors undertook a study of the attitudes of college students toward professions and occupations. The student was asked to list ten professions in the order of their desirability and to give reasons for the ranking.

Returns were received from 92 girls and 182 boys. Approximately two thirds lived in New England, two thirds of the remainder in North Carolina, and the others in California. About one fourth were extension students, mostly teachers, and the remaining were students taking liberal-arts courses, principally juniors and seniors.

The table indicates the professions and occupations according to choice. Medicine, law, business (chiefly executive or supervisory positions), and teaching head the list of first choices, and the same four with slight change of order claim second place. After second and third choices, business and teaching hold their own, medicine and law decline, and engineering, salesmanship, and agriculture poll an increasing number of preferences. Common labor, such as plumbing, "pick and shovel," and domestic service constitutes the most undesirable group of choices. However, the ninth and tenth ranks occupy a less definite position than do the first and second; either they are a little less desirable than the preceding, or they represent "the worst I could think of." Business is considered in the former light; the ministry in

¹ Manuscript submitted February 16, 1935.

the latter. Two students declared that after the eighth choice, they would select "either a bootlegger or preacher. It makes little difference which." While business, salesmanship, and teaching rank second, third, and fourth in the tenth choice, they apparently carry no violent antipathy. On the other hand, 18 students were unable to pick a choice after the sixth, 20 after the seventh, and 31 after the eighth.

PROFESSIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Order of Choices</i>									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Medicine	48	39	22	11	15	8	10	3	3	4
Law	32	34	18	16	15	7	19	13	3	8
Business	30	36	49	44	42	49	35	48	38	26
Teaching	24	32	36	26	38	26	25	21	14	23
Marriage	14	2	3	00	1	3	2	1	2	6
Social work . . .	11	9	11	12	9	8	4	1	3	4
Journalism . . .	9	8	2	7	8	6	8	4	3	6
Government work .	8	8	5	8	6	5	8	3	4	3
Agriculture . . .	8	7	5	7	7	10	11	11	11	17
Music	8	7	2	9	5	5	3	1	1	3
Writing	8	4	9	5	10	5	3	5	4	1
Dentistry	7	3	4	4	2	4	3	00	2	2
Engineering . . .	6	4	22	15	14	15	15	18	9	7
Aviation	6	2	2	3	5	3	4	00	2	5
Science	5	11	13	10	5	12	4	8	10	3
Manufacturing . .	5	5	7	3	1	3	4	1	7	00
Coaching and athletics	5	5	6	6	6	8	5	12	7	7
Ministry	5	4	5	3	5	6	10	8	11	14
Salesmanship . . .	4	9	5	12	18	16	14	20	20	24
Politics	4	3	3	5	5	4	3	10	7	8
Research	4	2	1	4	2	00	00	1	3	5
Acting	4	1	6	5	5	3	3	2	5	5
Library work . . .	2	4	3	4	3	5	5	4	2	2
Clerical work . . .	2	4	2	6	11	9	9	4	17	7
Accountancy . . .	2	1	6	3	00	2	4	2	3	00
Army and Navy . .	2	00	3	3	3	4	3	3	5	2

PROFESSIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Order of Choices</i>										
Nursing	1	9	3	8	4	7	7	4	9	1	
Pharmacy	1	4	4	1	00	3	5	5	5	2	
Purchasing agent . .	1	3	2	6	8	2	1	4	1	00	
Dietician	1	3	2	3	00	1	2	2	00	2	
Art	1	2	00	00	4	4	1	2	00	1	
Architecture	1	00	2	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	
Dressmaking	1	00	00	4	00	3	3	4	3	00	
Forestry	00	1	2	1	00	1	00	1	2	00	
Common labor	00	00	00	4	1	4	4	9	13	30	
Landscape garden- ing	00	00	00	00	00	1	2	1	00	00	
Mechanical draft- ing	00	00	00	00	00	1	1	3	1	1	
Miscellaneous	4	8	9	12	12	17	13	12	10	11	

Forty-eight students gave no reason for their ranking, presumably corroborating the sentiment of the student who had "no idea at present what I shall do after graduation, and am quite indifferent, so long as I have a good chance to make a success of it." Practically all prelegal and premedical students were able to give thoughtful reasons for first choices. A few, however, were the unhappy victims of parental projections. A prelegal student listed law as fourth, commenting, "At present I am destined to be a lawyer if my parents have their wish." A large number realized the difficulty in listing professional preferences since college students have "had little or no experience in the hard world of realities."

The basis for making choices in professions varied. Some took a primary motive, as service to humanity, and selected ten professions that would bring realization of this desire. Others selected several motives and named professions that would satisfy these several wishes. One student chose professions that would embrace "security, standing of the profession, personal recognition, and opening in the respective fields." Another selected

three criteria "(1) according to my interest and the enjoyment which I would derive from participation, (2) according to the amount of financial return, (3) according to the prestige and status to be derived." However, the larger number of choices evince a lack of thoughtful and intelligent consideration. One girl felt her whole life work would be complete when she wrote "one worth-while piece of literature." One person ruled out medicine because the physician "could never accompany his wife anywhere." Several aspired to be President of the United States as a first choice, and most of the choices in government work consisted of being chief justice, cabinet member, ambassador, and like positions. One ambitious youth confined his ten preferences to such professions.

In combining the reasons for professional preferences, we grouped them under thirteen categories. Sixty-eight students could give no specific reason for their ranking, other than certain careers "allured," "thrilled," or "fascinated." A like number wanted "to mold the character of the young children," to "uplift humanity," or to spread the gospel of righteousness. This altruistic work was often made to embrace social work and medicine. Fifty-five stressed financial remuneration, and 54 chose something that would put "me in the spotlight," "bring recognition," or afford "prestige." Fifty sought "personal satisfaction," "self-expression," and "sheer pleasure of work." Forty-six considered their own fitness (talent and training), and 28, mostly mature students and undergraduates working during vacation, wished to capitalize on "my experience." Twenty-eight considered the opportunities for making social contacts, and 21 recognized the influence of relatives. Nineteen had an eye for variety and leisure associated with the profession; 12 for "new experience", and 11 for health and outdoor work. Only 12 of the 274 took into consideration the "chance of employment after training."

CONCLUSIONS

1. In this study medicine, law, business, and teaching are the most popular choices, and common labor the least desirable. When research, writing, library work, and teaching are combined, educational work totals 38 first choices and ranks next to medicine.

2. Such professions as dentistry, pharmacy, engineering, aviation, accounting, architecture, forestry, landscape gardening, and mechanical drafting are practically ignored.

3. The larger number have no definite plans for the future, and little conception of the possibilities within the many professions. Less than five per cent even so much as considered the overcrowded condition of certain popular professions.

4. While personal fitness, economic returns, status, and health played a part in the selection, indefiniteness and lack of reasoning characterized the majority of the reasons given.

5. On the whole, these college students "probed their psychic" and did not weigh the opportunities and disadvantages of the various professions.

6. The findings seem to warrant the suggestion that high-school and college students should be given definite instruction and competent advice in professional orientation.

THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN*

CARL J. RATZLAFF

Lafayette College

III. SCOPE AND METHOD

The free and voluntary community education sponsored by the Workers' Educational Association of Sweden is postulated upon the following grounds. First, human educational needs cannot be limited or designated by laws, regulations, or decrees, no matter how inclusive or certainly they are formulated. Secondly, a significant percentage of the people has received a faulty schooling which strongly motivates continued education during a more mature age, even in purely elementary learning. Thirdly, but even where child and youth education stand on a high level, voluntary educational work is necessary since the former overlooks, in a large measure, the adult point of view which cannot feasibly be assumed in the earlier years. The approach in later years must be from another angle, permitting more freedom and initiative of expression. Fourthly, human education is never completed but must be constantly supplemented. Fifthly, in the transition period between youth and participation in the life of the community lies, as a rule, a decade. During this time development of society continues and necessitates self-education. Sixthly, it must be emphasized that the community education movement is in the interest of the community itself. Community, cultural, and political democracy must be united with alertness, knowledge, broad-mindedness, and responsibility on the part of the public. It is just for this which the Workers' Educational Association and other voluntary educational organizations strive, according to their powers and resources.¹⁸

*This article is appearing in two parts, Part One having already appeared in the November 1935 issue of THE JOURNAL. Part One included the topics History and Development, and Organization and Finance.

¹⁸ Sandler, Jr., *Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund Dess uppgift och Organisation* (Stockholm, 1930), pp. 19-20.

These basic premises suggest the scope and method of the community education movement in Sweden. In accord with them, it will be readily seen that the ground encompassed by the movement is broad. As has been indicated in Part I, Section II, committees have been set up to prepare a curriculum for each of the several fields. The following fields are listed in the last annual catalogue that is available to the present writer: economics; state and municipal science, and jurisprudence; socialism and the labor movement, history, history of literature, science of languages, and fine arts; philosophy and religion, and natural science, geography, and public health. Each of these fields is completely organized in the annual catalogue, giving the leaders of the discussion groups and the subjects for each of the lecture-discussion meetings. Take the first general field indicated above, namely, economics. Within this we find the following series of lecture-discussion meetings: the population problem, statistics, consumers' coöperation, social insurance, national economy, coöperation, Swedish industrial evolution, foreign trade, the credit problem, agricultural economics, mineral economics, Swedish pension system, types of coöperation, general social insurance, social insurance in Sweden, corporation finance, labor problems, current economic problems, Swedish industrial geography, the modern financial system, the iron and steel industry, economic geography, the trust problem, social economy, a political and economic survey of the New Europe, international economic relations, English industrialism, and national resources. While each of these subjects represents a series to which from four to seventeen lecture-discussion meetings are devoted, there are several others listed which are variants of some one or other of those indicated above.

Space in this article does not permit giving the subjects dealt with in the other six main fields. Inasmuch as our interest is that of indicating the scope and method of this form of community

education, it will suffice to confine our attention to the one field. To an economist, a glance at the subjects enumerated will bring out clearly the breadth of treatment.

All of the four main divisions of the subject matter of economics are quite fully covered; namely, the theoretical, the historical, the applied, and the sociological. For example, the curriculum tends to focus interest on coöperation but, curiously enough, even where an applied field of this sort is stressed the historical and theoretical aspects of the subject (rather than the factual) seem to be desired.

And this brings one to the method that this educational movement employs. In my opinion, it is in this phase of the community education work of Sweden that one finds the cause of the extraordinary success which has been achieved. The method is unique—at least in degree if not in kind—from that which one finds utilized in community education activities elsewhere; for example, in England and America. This method in Sweden relates itself to subject matter, to lecture-discussion leaders, and to manner of conducting meetings.

With regard to subject matter, the basic idea which governs is that the demands, desires, and interests of the members of the discussion groups themselves should determine the selection of the fields and topics to be treated. It is *not* what some one else may wish that the public should want that is decisive. The community education movement of Sweden is frankly a community, or mass movement, it makes no attempt—heroic or otherwise—at force-feeding. This is reflected in the statement of a Swedish authority in which he says

The evolution of society goes on at a more rapid rate and the school system does not keep pace. The changing of regulations and the supplementing of them take time. From the school-leaving age to the time of meeting serious questions of life a period of a decade intervenes, and during this period much has happened. New sciences, new proposals,

new possibilities develop. Changed economic conditions and new laws require one to keep up.¹⁰

In brief, the fields and topics having direct and immediate importance, or human interest, dominate in the lecture-discussion work. This is definitely seen in the total number of meetings during the period 1912-1929 devoted to each of the main divisions enumerated below:¹¹

Economics	6,371
Political science	4,197
Education	1,557
Trades and industry	1,556
History	1,344
Literary	1,230
Natural science	809
Other fields	1,140
Total	18,204

Method so far as it concerns lecture-discussion leaders, again is clearly defined. The basic idea here is that "the presentation should always be fully factual and the lecturer should present facts and evidence in an impartial way." Not only are lecturers chosen who do not advance an "ism" but, more than this, no propaganda is tolerated. The furtherance of political or social ends, no matter how desirable these may be, is never introduced by the lecturers; on the contrary, a critical, scientific, objective point of view is always maintained. In this respect, the European tradition — and notably the Swedish — differs fundamentally from that which so frequently prevails in the public addresses given in our own country, even by those who have university, scientific training. A nonpartisan, scientific attitude is basic in the method of the lecturer chosen for the community education work of Sweden.

With regard to the manner of conducting the lecture-discus-

¹⁰ Sandler, *op cit.*, p. 17.

¹¹ Sigfrid Hansson, *Arbetsarrangemang i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1930), p. 158; Cp. *Verksamhetsberättelse 1933-1934*, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

sion meetings, one can again point to the basic idea. It is that the meeting shall be essentially in the nature of a forum and *not* a lecture, per se. Self-education is never the result of a receptive process or attitude, and it is this attitude which universally prevails on the part of those who attend public lectures who are not professional scholars, or at least college graduates. The community-education movement of Sweden is definitely, if not entirely, one of self-education. Lectures are for the purpose of opening the field which the speaker presents, to awaken interest, and to raise issues. In keeping with this idea, the support of library materials is regarded as a primary function.

IV. RESULTS AND APPRAISAL

To determine the results accruing from a social element, such as the community education organization of Sweden, is difficult, if not impossible, unless one is satisfied with the immediate, direct, and quantitative accomplishments. Needless to say these are by no means a true measure or, in fact, the really significant results. The economist and sociologist frequently finds in his problem of analysis that he has no statistical measure or criterion for important reactions which have taken place because of any one or more social actions which the community has instituted. Interesting and important as are the results which are measured in the statistical material given in the preceding pages, they are obviously inadequate. At the most they suggest what *individual* citizens have obtained from this form of popular education.

The social consequences and repercussions are more indirect, remote, and obscure. And these are undoubtedly of greater importance than are the contributions of community education to the individual, as weighty as the latter are in giving to the individual a fuller life. This is precisely the basis for the Swedish view that free and voluntary education is not only needed by the individual but is necessary for society itself. The view finds expression in the following words:

An intelligent people, physically and ethically strong, is a necessary condition for the existence and welfare of the community. The degree of education, the clear and broadminded view, the *esprit de corps*, give to society its special stamp. The voting citizens in the communities have not only the right but, with few exceptions, even the duty to accept responsible obligations in the Government. . . The education of the public must strive for the whole nation's awakening and welfare. It is the existence of civilization which is at stake. The whole nation must, therefore, be mobilized.¹⁸

The social consequences of the community education movement, while obscure and difficult of scientific measurement, are undoubtedly real. The movement, in my opinion, has been an important factor in building what is regarded by European authorities to be the soundest democratic form of government in Europe today. It would seem to me that it is exactly this element of community education which accounts for the fact that Sweden, with the most powerful organization of the working classes (in terms of finances as well as of numbers), has had no appreciable development of communism, radicalism, or fascism. The phenomenal absence of organized interest in the communist and fascist propaganda, which are so potent right next door to Sweden, in spite of the fact that the citizenry is unusually active and critical, is to be found in a large measure in the work of community education.

Another social consequence, of an economic rather than a political sort, is the contribution of the workers' educational activities to creating an exceptionally constructive industrial system. International commentators have frequently pointed to Scandinavia, in general, and Sweden, in particular, as having achieved the highest standard of living for the mass of its people. As puzzling as this has been to such commentators, the answer is to be found to an important degree in the fact that organized labor and its leadership have been prepared to inaugurate, to maintain,

¹⁸ Sandler, *op cit*, pp. 18-19.

and then to have embodied in national legislation a constructive program of employer-employee relationship. It has expressed itself over the last two or three decades in collective bargaining, courts of arbitration, impartial agencies for public mediation, labor exchanges, and other social agencies toward which we in this country are now striving. Finally, this finds its unified social expression in the national government in a structure which is quite unique to the Scandinavian nations; namely, the Ministry of Social Affairs, with its fully developed and integrated structure for constructive service.¹⁰

To the American reader undoubtedly the question occurs, What is the significance of the community education movement in Sweden to us in the United States? The question is given real point and importance as we continue with our new program of social legislation under the NRA for that activity postulates increasing intelligence on the part of our masses if the program is to be kept on a democratic basis rather than going into an economic dictatorship. In closing, I shall consider briefly the question of the importance to us of the Swedish experience in this field of social activity.

V. SIGNIFICANCE TO THE UNITED STATES

From the two points of view the question of estimating the value of the Swedish experience is of special interest to us. In the first place, Scandinavia has—as has been pointed out in the introduction of this article—furnished us with a social experimental laboratory to a degree which is highly instructive. From this laboratory the larger nations should be able to draw some conclusions on problems which are qualitatively of the same character.

¹⁰ Political scientists as well as economists have had particular interest in the organization and operation of the Swedish Department of Social Affairs (It is interesting to note that one of our Congressmen has suggested—within the last few weeks—that such a department be created within our national government.) A brief discussion of the Ministry of Social Affairs may be found in C. J. Ratzlaff, *The Scandinavian Unemployment Relief Program*, Appendix A.

From a second point of view, the Swedish experience is of special interest to us; namely, that Sweden is one of the three last stands of national democracy and has much in common with the general interest, outlook, and methods of England and America. In fact, the Swedish people proudly term themselves the "America of Europe" and point to the fact that more than three fourths of their number have rather immediate relatives in the United States.

The true significance of the community-education movement, such as Sweden has developed, rests upon two considerations. The first is, Is there a need of such a social agency in this country? Secondly, Is such work possible and practicable?

The need of a community education movement in the United States will be questioned by many. In support of their view they will point to our highly developed primary, secondary, and higher educational structures. Compulsion within certain age limits and the relative ease of continued education thereafter will also be cited. Together with this it may also be said that we have a whole category of agencies such as night schools, extension work, correspondence courses, branch colleges, etc.

The answer to be made to these arguments is that they are superficial and erroneous in their inferences. The six premises, given in Section III above, on which the community education work of Sweden is postulated is sufficient refutation. This is all the more true in view of the fact that the structure of the formal educational system is as highly developed in Sweden as in America. The fact is that our educational system, as broad and complex as it is, does not do the work which the community education movement is designed to do. This is primarily true because of the scope and method of the educational system.

From an entirely different angle, however, the need of a community educational movement, such as is found in Sweden, may be questioned. It comes from those who hold, unwittingly

or expressly, an aristocratic philosophy (in contrast with a democratic) of education. A discussion of this takes one far afield in educational theory that does not fall within the scope of this paper. It may suffice to say that the trend of current affairs would lend more credence to the argument that society needs to broaden its educational base if democratic government is to prevail.

Finally, we come to the question, Is such a movement as the Swedish community educational activity practicable in this country? Here again the critic and cynic will seem to have ground for doubt. They will point to our American individualism and materialism which make community activities of a nonmaterial sort effective only when they are "novel and dramatic." Again, our polyglot population will be regarded as unsympathetic or uninterested in group discussions.

Such criticisms, needless to say, are superficial and nearsighted. In fact, interpreted properly, they constitute real arguments for successful work in self-education which the community education movement fosters. Unanimity of view and complete socialism, in contrast to individualism, is productive of quiescence and stationariness. It is only because there are conflicts of views that provocative, constructive discussion can be developed; social progress is possible by no other means.

The obstacles of the community education movement in this country are to be found rather in what should be the more simple field of the mechanics of the movement. I refer here particularly to the method employed by the lecture-discussion groups in the Swedish system. It is a curious fact that there is a remarkable degree of difficulty in getting American professional scholars to comprehend the distinction between the lecture-classroom method and that of the community-forum approach. As long as those who participate in the community education work insist on carrying into the community forum the written lecture of the

classroom, to be read to an audience (which is not there by college requirement in order to pass examinations), so long will the community education work be ineffective. It may seem to be a matter of inconsequential detail but, from my first-hand investigation of the community-forum work of Sweden, this distinction is absolutely paramount. A lecture is *not* a forum, it cannot be made such by euphuism, mannerisms, or rhetoric. Only when a mastery of subject matter sufficient to present this material to the layman, and also when those who are to further the community education work have developed logical, analytical method of reasoning, can community education develop.

Another obstacle of the same sort is the closely related one of the personality and outlook of discussion leaders. For reasons rather difficult to understand, American public speakers are far more prone than those of Europe to advance their own opinions rather than to confine themselves to the search for truth. This is so obviously true in many cases at the present time. The very same person who emphatically holds himself forth as an economist and scientist very quickly becomes a propagandist for this end or that. Regardless of how worthy the furtherance of such ends may be, the position of the scholar has been lost to that of the exhorter. As long as the distinction between scientific analysis and propaganda is not made, efforts in the direction of community education will be unsuccessful. This distinction, it should be emphasized, is absolutely basic in the functioning of the Workers' Educational Association of Sweden.

In closing, it seems well to suggest that the need of a community education movement in this country has been felt in the past and is more pressing today. It may not be an overstatement to assert that the very nature of our present recovery program calls for a rapid development of community self-education, if industrial and political democracy are to continue in America.

DO EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES MAKE FOR POOR SCHOLARSHIPS?¹

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A frequently expressed explanation for the academic failure of many college students is the excessive participation in extracurricular activities. Whenever a college faculty sits in solemn conclave for the purpose of devising ways and means to raise the scholastic standing of certain students or to salvage some academic wrecks, usually the first thing proposed is a curtailment of out-of-class activities. Athletic sports, choral societies, bands and orchestras, language clubs, and the like are quite generally acknowledged to be inimical to scholastic achievements. The logic of the argument presupposes that the time and energy usually devoted to extracurricular activities will be given over to classroom preparation in those cases where a curtailment is made mandatory. In short it is assumed that the student with no extracurricular activities will devote all that time to lesson preparation that his roommate devotes to clubs and orchestras. Is this popular notion true to fact?

To discover the facts of the case, an investigation was undertaken in our institution during the past two years to discover the relationship between student participation in extracurricular activities and academic success. About twelve per cent of our students report no outside activities. These are about uniformly distributed over the four college classes. The fact that many of them are commuters may be the reason for this nonparticipation. The average number of participations for the student body as a whole is a little better than two.

Students were paired off according to class, sex, and intelligence rating as determined by standard intelligence tests. The only difference recognized was the number of extracurricular

¹ Manuscript submitted May 23, 1935

activities. For example one freshman boy was paired off with another freshman boy having the same intelligence score, the only difference between the two being the degrees of extracurricular participation. A group with no participations was paired with a like group of three participations; a group of two participations with a like group of four participations, a group of just one participation with a like group of three participations, and a group of just one participation with a like group of five participations. The athletes were paired with a like number of nonathletes and the working group with the nonworking group. In this way there were sixteen group comparisons. To eliminate the personal equation as much as possible, the student with respect to his academic rank was chosen by lot from those of the same class, sex, and intelligence rating.

The following table portrays the data of the investigation. In each of the four college classes, there were three group comparisons. In addition there were four group comparisons of mixed members; that is, such a group was made up of students from all four college classes. The table should be read that ten freshmen with no extracurricular activities made an average of 1.09 quality points when compared with ten other freshmen of the same sex and intelligence rating who made an average of 1.54 quality points but had three extracurricular activities. In like manner the remainder of the table should be read. It should be noted that the marking system in this institution calls for three quality points for a rating of "excellent," two quality points for a rating of "good," one quality point for a rating of "fair," and no quality points for ratings of mere "passing" or "failure." The usual schedule of these students was seventeen hours. All the group comparisons were for the first semester of the year 1934-1935 with the exception of the first working group which is for the corresponding semester of the preceding year.

TABLE I					
Class	Students	Extracurricular Act. and Average Quality Points		Extracurricular Act. and Average Quality Points	
Freshman	20	0	1.09	3	1.54
	30	1	1.11	3	1.54
	26	2	1.35	4	1.57
Sophomore	18	0	1.40	3	1.74
	20	1	1.09	3	1.71
	16	2	1.64	4	1.64
Junior	10	0	1.35	3	1.74
	20	1	1.23	3	1.67
	20	2	1.62	4	2.02
Senior	14	0	1.42	3	2.05
	22	1	1.68	3	2.05
	16	2	1.57	4	2.37
Mixed	14	1	1.41	5	2.22
Groups	26	not working	1.35	working	1.05
	28	not working	1.37	working	.96
	64	nonathletes	1.45	athletes	1.21

The conclusions of this investigation proved to be contrary to faculty opinion in general. In twelve out of thirteen group comparisons, the students with none or little participation proved to be the inferior students academically. In one comparison, there was no difference in the academic achievements of the groups. As will be readily noted, the academic differences between the groups are rather marked as expressed by the general averages, thus showing unmistakably the inferiority of both the nonparticipating and the limited participating groups. In the athletes and working groups the academic ratings are just the reverse. The athletes are definitely outclassed by the nonathletes and the working group by the nonworking group.

No doubt not all the factors involved in this problem were under control so that out-of-class participations cannot be recognized wholly as the differentiating cause. In a study of such a personal nature, many intangible factors must of necessity play

their part. Science has not yet devised a method of control nor a way of measurement in such cases. The mere fact that the outcomes were so preponderatingly one-sided should indicate that mere numerical participation in extracurricular activities does not make or unmake scholarship. In other words a method of administration that would eliminate or at least greatly restrict the extracurricular participation of the poor students would by no means make them into good students. There is something vastly more significant than just restricted participation. Possibly that student who participates in many activities does so because of many interests, a greater progressive spirit, and a richer social outlook not possessed by students with little or no participations even though his intelligence may be the same as indicated by our tests and scales. One would also have a right to expect a vigor of mind and body in the one group that ordinarily may be nonexistent in the other group.

It becomes reasonably certain that the way to raise the scholarship of the probationers and the near-probationers is not necessarily the curtailment of their extracurricular activities. Limited participation or even nonparticipation does not of itself guarantee improvement in scholarship. It is rather obvious, however, that the academic borderline cases should not be permitted to be absent from many recitations such as becomes inevitable by absences from the campus on account of football trips, choral society tours, and debating itineraries. Such students need the ever-present stimulus of teacher and class to keep them even reasonably mentally awake.

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN PUPIL MALADJUSTMENT¹

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The determination of significant factors in the development of a delinquent status has been the object of many statistical studies of various types of problem children. Some of these surveys have made valuable contributions to the better understanding of delinquent children. Others have been of lesser importance and have contributed little to the rather limited store of information which we now possess relative to juvenile behavior problems. In some studies the investigators have been content to set forth certain findings relative to a limited number of delinquent cases, and from the data thus presented they have drawn various conclusions without resorting to comparisons with control groups. Other more careful investigators have set up rather elaborate situations in which matched or some other types of carefully selected control groups of nondelinquents have been used for comparative purposes. Where this procedure has been followed the comparisons have usually been made between the mean tendencies of the two groups; few efforts have been taken to determine the statistical significances of the differences observed between delinquents and nondelinquents in terms of standard deviations or probable errors.

As a result of these various types of studies it has been observed that in certain characteristics groups of delinquent children are usually inferior to groups of normal children. For example, the mean intelligence quotient of delinquent groups is usually found to be about 89, compared to an assumed normal mean of 100, a difference of some 11 points. This has been purported to represent a significant handicap for the delinquent

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group as a whole, but it is just as important to learn *how* significant this difference really is, and just how significant other recognized differences really are, before we can draw any valid conclusions regarding the relative importance of different factors upon the causation of social maladjustment.

For several years the Department of Pupil Adjustment of the Des Moines Public Schools has been experimenting with an objective type of case-study form. In this form 55 items considered of importance to all behavior case histories have been arranged as a socioeconomic-personality rating scale (called the RPC form—Record of Problem Case). Each item has five descriptions, scored 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4, the lowest score representing the worst possible type of situation, the middle rating expressing the average delinquent situation, and the (3) rating describing the average normal situation. The (1) rating represents an intermediate status between the worst possible and the average delinquent ratings, while the (4) rating stands for an ideal situation. As an illustration of this type of rating system the following item (Item XX) is reproduced from the scale.

XX. Child's Acceptance of Parents' Interest

0—Outward rebellion

1—Child usually ignores parents

2—Some confidence in one parent—disregard or distrust for the other

3—Usually accepts and sometimes seeks parental advice

4—Seeks and has respect for parental advice and counsel

The 55 items are classified under five subheadings, as follows

<i>Subdivision</i>	<i>No Items Included</i>
Parental and family characteristics	8
Material factors in the home environment	8
Personal factors in the home environment	9
School records and tests	14
Development and personality records	16

The RPC form has been used experimentally in the case studies of 130 chronic school behavior problem children—

truants, incorrigibles, theft problems, etc. These problems were studied as individual cases by trained workers attached to the Department of Pupil Adjustment. The total scores for the 55 items of the scale, as well as the subtotal and individual item scores, were then tabulated and the rating scale was validated and standardized on the basis of these scores.

In standardizing the scale it was necessary to validate the individual items making up the entire scale. We did this in two ways. First, we divided our 130 problem cases into three nearly equal groups, according to the (1) lowest, (2) middle, and (3) highest total scores, and we then compared the critical ratios of the mean (3)-mean (1) differences for each item of the scale, thus determining the significance of each individual item as it related to the total RPC score. Second, we compared the middle delinquent group with a matched group of nonproblem case children and by obtaining the critical ratios of the delinquent-control group mean differences we were able to determine the relative importance of each individual item in regard to its differentiation between delinquents and nondelinquents. It is these latter statistics which seem to have some important bearing upon the relative significance of the factors underlying pupil maladjustments, and which will furnish the data for this discussion.

The problem children included in the standardization process were a group of chronic attendance, discipline, theft, and otherwise delinquent offenders who had been referred to the Department of Pupil Adjustment on many occasions and whose cases warranted an intensive type of study. We found that in their various sociological attributes they were very similar to juvenile delinquents reported by other investigators, and we are of the opinion that the statistics compiled are quite representative, not only of pupil maladjustment problems, but also of general juvenile delinquency cases.

The middle delinquent group consisted of only 42 cases, while the control group was made up of 46 nondelinquents. The actual

numbers involved in the comparisons were rather small, but the statistical methods used in making the comparisons (*i.e.*, the use of critical ratios) minimized to some extent the effect of the small number of cases involved. The control group had been matched with 46 delinquent cases, but a tabulation of data indicated that the 46 matched delinquents were almost identical in the distributions of their various factors with the entire 130 problem cases used in the study. We therefore made no effort to separate the data relating to the 46 matched delinquents, but instead concluded that the control group might be justifiably compared with either the entire group of 130 delinquents or with any representative number of cases selected from the entire group. Inasmuch as the 42 middle-score delinquents were representative of an average delinquent group in so far as mean scores were concerned, it seemed that the comparisons between the data of this group and the data of the control group would constitute valid measures of the differences between these delinquent and nondelinquent children.

The individual item comparisons between the two groups were made through obtaining the critical ratios of the differences between the means. A critical ratio is an expression of the actual difference between the means of two distributions divided by the standard deviation of the difference of the means. A ratio of 2.70 is considered as representing approximately certainty of actual difference. According to Garrett (H. E. Garrett, *Statistics*

<i>D</i> <i>S.D. Diff.</i>	<i>Chances in 100</i>
.00	50
.50	69
1.00	84
1.50	93
2.00	98
2.70	100

in *Psychology and Education*, p. 134) the number of chances that various critical ratios represent true differences greater than zero are as shown on the previous page.

The table showing the critical ratios of the 55 items, the number of chances the true differences exceeded zero, and the rank orders of the critical ratios follows. The various items have been arranged in general factor-groupings.

<i>Item No.</i>	<i>Description of Item</i>	<i>CR</i>	<i>No. Chances in 100 Diff. Exceeds 0</i>	<i>Rank Order of Critical Ratio</i>
Items Indicating General Ability Levels of Parents				
I	Parents' schooling	1.071	86	53
IV	Mental abnormality in family	4.353	100	25
V	Father's occupation (predepression)	5.198	100	16
Items Indicating Parental Emotional Stability				
II	Alcoholism of parents	2.810	100	40
III	Criminality in family	3.710	100	32
VI	Father's stability of employment (predepression)	3.728	100	31
VII	Marital status .	3.243	100	37
VIII	Parental compatability	4.698	100	22
Items Relating to Income and Economic Status				
IX	Family economic status	2.715	100	42
X	Income	3.641	100	33
Items Descriptive of Material Home Environment				
XI	Home equipment (conveniences and appliances)	2.069	98	46
XII	Neighborhood .	2.260	99	44
XIII	Exterior appearance of home	3.976	100	30
XIV	Home cleanliness	2.911	100	39
XV	Home furnishings (in relation to comfort)	1.695	96	49
XVI	Overcrowdedness .	718	76	55
Items Rating Home Interests and Ideals				
XVII	Family social interests	5.168	100	17

Item No	Description of Item	C. R.	No. Chances	Rank
			in 100 Diff	Order of
			Exceeds 0	Critical Ratio
XVIII	Opportunities for developing desirable home interests	2.444	99	43
XXI	Father's standard of conduct (for child)	4.948	100	19
XXII	Mother's standard of conduct (for child)	4.185	100	29
XXV	Home duties	1.966	98	47
Items Describing Personnel Relationships in the Home				
XIX	Interest of parents in child's problems	7.950	100	9
XX	Child's acceptance of parent's interest	9.138	100	7
XXIII	Father's disciplinary methods	8.733	100	8
XXIV	Mother's disciplinary methods	9.942	100	3
Items Relating to Educational Adjustment				
XXVI	Age-grade retardation	4.313	100	27
XXX	Intelligence quotient classification	3.247	100	36
XXXI	Mental age—grade deviation	2.150	100	45
XXXII	Reading deficiency (determined by use of standard tests)	1.670	96	51
XXXIII	Arithmetic deficiency (determined by use of standard tests)	1.959	98	48
Items Expressing School Achievement and Progress				
XXVII	Scholarship	9.574	100	5
XXVIII	Average attendance	9.263	100	6
XXIX	Percentage of failures	4.651	100	23
Items Rating School Discipline				
XXXIV	Classroom citizenship	5.642	100	14
XXXV	School citizenship outside classrooms	12.961	100	2
Items Describing School Attitudes and Interests				
XXXVI	Completion of assignments	7.734	100	12
XXXVII	Participation in oral discussions	7.866	100	10

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<i>Item No.</i>	<i>Description of Item</i>	<i>G. R.</i>	<i>No. Chances in 100 Diff Exceeds 0</i>	<i>Rank Order of Critical Ratio</i>
XXXVIII	Child's statement of scholastic interests	4.753	100	21
XXXIX	Interest and participation in extracurricular activities	5.217	100	15
Items Relating to Physical and Anatomical Characteristics				
XL	History of illnesses	3.231	100	38
XLI	Physique993	84	54
XLIV	Facial characteristics	4.548	100	24
XLV	General appearance	3.588	100	34
Items Describing Neurological Traits				
XLII	Physical energy	5.007	100	18
XLIII	Nervous symptoms	1.462	93	52
Items Rating Habits and Interests				
XLVI	Personal habits (drinking, smoking, etc.)	5.679	100	13
XLVII	Leisure-time activities	7.843	100	11
XLVIII	Types of companions	9.781	100	4
LIV	Vocational interests	1.688	100	50
LV	Record of delinquencies	13.650	100	1
Items Relating to Social Attitudes				
XLIX	Ages of companions	2.725	100	41
L	Number of companions	3.517	100	35
LI	Social adaptability .	4.341	100	26
LII	Personality moods .	4.919	100	20
LIII	Response to suggestion and correction . .	4.235	100	28

The outstanding characteristic of the distribution of critical ratios seems to be the relatively high and significant figures found in the large majority of the items. We would be justified in assuming from these data that delinquent children tend to be inferior to nondelinquents in not one or even in a few characteristics, but that they usually evidence a general inferiority. Only nine of the entire group of 55 items failed to give an indication of positive and certain difference between delinquent and non-

delinquent cases. Of these nine only two indicated less than 96 chances in 100 that the true differences exceeded zero. It appears that we must conclude that maladjustment is usually due not to specific causes but rather to configurations of causes, and that the treatment of delinquency must probably include the modifying of not one but a number of interrelated adverse conditions. We must recognize that there are precipitating conditions which may act as final determiners, and which may perhaps control the direction of delinquent conduct, but in the majority of the chronic maladjustment problems which were a part of our delinquent group we found that the underlying factors were extensive and general rather than specific and limited.

A further analysis was undertaken to discover the relative importance of the various types of causative factors included in the rating scale. While practically all of the items proved to be valid as comparative measures there was a spread of from .718 to 13.650 in the numerical values of the critical ratios. The critical ratios of the 46 items which were of apparently positive validity ranged from 2.715 to 13.650, with seven other items showing ratios from 1.071 to 2.444. It was quite apparent that some factors assumed a much greater significance than others; that while any one of 46 items might be chosen as definitely valid measures, certain items seemed to have much greater relative values as comparative ratings.

Comparing the groups of factors as arranged in the statistical table above, the items relating to the personal relationships in the homes seemed to be of outstanding importance. All of these four items were among the first ten in their critical ratio values. The parent-child relationships as measured by these items included:

1. The interest of the parents in the child's problems, this relationship being measured by the ability, stability, or time of the parents to assume the role of an interested counselor.

2. The child's acceptance of the parents' counsel. This was measured by the general attitude of the child toward the parental authority, belligerence and indifference being the negative extremes and seeking after and respect for parental advice being the positive extremes.

3. The mother's and the father's disciplinary methods (separate items). These items were arranged as ascending and descending scales, the disciplinary methods ranging from extreme severity to complete pampering.

In connection with these items the generally high rankings of the items rating home interests and ideals (family social interests, father's and mother's standards of conduct) might be observed. These personal home factors have been stressed a great deal in many treatments of the delinquency problem by various investigators. Inasmuch as the child normally spends the greatest part of his time in the home and also inasmuch as the earlier years, during which social attitudes are so largely formed and set, are entirely spent in the home we should be inclined to accept these data as representing a true picture of the building up of many delinquent situations. It would appear that unless we can assure children of proper home standards and ideals, and add to this a reasonable amount of parental stability and interest, we must be prepared to deal with many of them as behavior problems.

The generally high ranking of the school achievement, discipline, and interest items would suggest that we might be restating our problems in those items rather than rating causal factors. The problems which were included in the experimental group were all school problems of some type or another, and we would necessarily expect to obtain high rankings in these comparisons. However, we may still conclude that lack of achievement and interest is somewhat indicative of an insufficient educational program for meeting the needs of certain types of problem children. The purely academic type of secondary-school program in which most of our behavior problem children were en-

rolled probably should be augmented by a less formal and more objective type of training which might be available for all pupils whose mental and emotional status does not warrant extensive academic education. Our statistics from year to year have conclusively shown that a certain large proportion of our problem children are not of high-school caliber, that their educational qualifications do not warrant their continuation in an academic program, and yet we have very little else to offer them.

The rankings of the items rating educational adjustments would not label these factors as of great relative importance. Age-grade progress is ranked at the middle of the distribution, while intelligence rating is ranked thirty-sixth, well down in the lower half of the distribution. The other items would appear to be relatively inconsequential. The fact that we had no really adequate achievement tests for the upper grade levels may have invalidated the reading and arithmetic deficiency items. However, the rankings of the intellectual and the age-grade factors are significant enough to indicate that much of the lack of achievement and interest found in the experimental group was probably due to intellectual insufficiency.

Only one other group of factors—those pertaining to the personal habits and leisure-time activities—seemed to be of any outstanding significance. Types of companions, habits of drinking, smoking, etc., and the various leisure-time activities seemed to be of considerable importance in their relations to the delinquent status. They may of course be a reflection of a general attitude of carelessness or even bravado which in turn is dependent upon the original causal factors. It might be going too far to state that the acquisition of drinking or smoking habits is responsible for the occurrence of delinquent patterns, but it also might be allowable to conclude that the presence of such habits is indicative of a personality situation which may easily lend itself to the formation of delinquent habits. The poor personal habits are

probably compensatory activities, much as are many delinquencies.

It was interesting to observe that many items which are often considered of vital importance to the layman seemed to be of no outstanding importance when subjected to this type of statistical treatment. Economic factors were significant in that their critical ratios indicated a positive difference between delinquents and nondelinquents, but relatively they were of minor importance, ranking 33d and 42d in the total group of 55 items. This does not necessarily indicate that economic factors have no important relation to the creation of a delinquent status, but it may mean that they are of great significance only when they are accompanied by other deficiencies.

The rather low ranking of the items relating to physical and anatomical characteristics bears out to a great extent the findings of other investigators who have indicated that from a physical standpoint delinquent children exhibit only minor differences. It seemed significant that of all of these items "facial characteristics" ranked the highest. It is quite probable that the person of unfortunate facial appearance has a more difficult social adjustment to make, due to the attitude of those with whom he contacts, and who react most favorably to pleasing facial characteristics. Of the other factors in this classification, illnesses and general appearances are probably tied up with economic insufficiencies. We must necessarily expect to obtain a significant difference in these characteristics if we obtain significant economic differences.

If we may eliminate from consideration the parental schooling factor, we might be justified in stating that the general ability qualifications of the parents, as reflected by mental abnormalities and fathers' occupations, seem to be of some relative significance. However, when the instabilities of the parents were measured (by items relative to alcoholism, criminality, stability of employment, and marital difficulties) we found only mod-

erately high ratios. It may be justifiable to conclude that parental moral deficiencies may not always be of great significance in the creation of the delinquent status, especially in cases where the parent-child relationships are satisfactory. Father and mother may be alcoholics or delinquents, or they may give evidence of other types of instabilities, but their deficiencies may have little or no effect upon the conduct of their children providing the home personnel relationships are congenial.

In summarizing the data, we would be inclined to conclude first, that the generally high critical ratios found in practically all of the 55 items would indicate that delinquent causal factors tend to appear as groups and in configurations rather than singly or as specific factors. Relative to individual items, we must conclude that of all types of factors studied we must recognize the important statistical significance of the data regarding home personal factors. The importance of undesirable social habits as causal factors must also be given recognition. The apparent great significance of school attitudes and achievements may partly be a restatement of the problems, but we must also conclude that there is yet much to be accomplished in the provision for opportunities of various types of school adjustments. In other words we may picture the typical delinquent child as one who is apt to lack many desirable qualities or achievements, but who may be particularly lacking in proper home relationships, social habits, or desirable school interests. The problem of adjustment seems to include parental reëducation, provision for proper placements outside the home in many instances where parental reeducation is not possible, the building up of proper social interests, and the provision for better school facilities for adjusting certain special types of children.

THE FUNCTION AND CONTENT OF THE FIRST COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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In this article I shall consider the first course in sociology as a composite fact and not as a single concrete set of materials to be presented alike to all kinds of students of the subject in all types of institutions and in all sorts of situations. No such uniform and integral first course in sociology is possible. The first course is multiple in character and must be adapted in content and in method of presentation to the various types of students to whom it is to be given. There is, however, I believe, a single general principle—perhaps two general principles—which may be used to govern the character of the first course in sociology. The earlier it is presented in the general plan of study the more concrete and local should be the subject matter and the greater the degree of direct concrete contact between pupil and field materials should be required of the student. A direct corollary of this principle is another, to the effect that the earlier the student enters upon such a course the simpler and less abstract should be the materials with which he is required to deal. Thus, may we not conclude that the first course in sociology should properly advance, according to the age and academic and general experience of the students, from a concrete descriptive study of the facts of social organization and social functioning which they can observe about them to a definite, and where possible a quantitative, analysis and interpretation of relatively abstract institutions and processes in society. Of only secondary significance perhaps is a second general principle governing the organization and content of the first course, to the effect that the content of the course and the methods of handling it must depend in some considerable measure upon the peculiar social organization and social

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functions of the locality (for the young) or of the larger society (for the older students) in which they live.

The criterion here employed is that of the ability of the student to handle the subject matter. It should be noted that in urging the study of concrete local social organization and functioning for the younger and less experienced students, I am not implying that such students should be introduced to a course in abstruse social problems, national or even international in scope, which properly belongs much higher up in the sociological curriculum. What I am implying is that this elementary course should acquaint the young student with the concrete social mechanisms and forms of which he is an immediate part and with the social adjustment functions which these social mechanisms perform. Criticism at this stage can be only relatively simple and relatively local, because of the limitation of the background and technical knowledge possessed by the student. Yet he most assuredly should not be dissuaded from criticism of social organization and functioning. The school should avoid, as the greatest of evils that it can perpetrate, the production of smug, self- and socially-satisfied young Philistines. But neither should it produce a horde of uncritical young image breakers who experience more satisfaction and less effort in finding fault with those things they chance to dislike for personal reasons than in understanding them. Both extremes involve a very undesirable egocentrism and individualism that do not argue well for an orderly and constructive development of society.

On the other hand I would not be understood as contending that the first course in sociology, when intended for more advanced and more experienced students, should necessarily deal only with abstract and conceptual materials, with the definition of concepts and the description of social processes in the abstract, that is, that it should constitute essentially what we call a course in social theory. In my opinion it is always preferable to

deal with concrete and definitely measurable data, where this is possible. But in the more advanced course it is assuredly always desirable, even obligatory, to interpret these concrete materials from the standpoint of the organization and functioning of the wider social adjustment processes instead of in terms of local situations alone. Without making such an advanced beginning course, a course in social problems in the usual sense, it should still attack the interpretation of the more obvious fundamental social adjustment problems, especially such general problems as traditional and customary versus scientific social controls, population size and culture levels, the conflict and displacement of cultures by immigration and by the conflict of living standards, the objectives of social control, and the problem of selecting and controlling the social controls, such as education and propaganda.

II

The great range of subject matter and of method here claimed for the first course in sociology according to age of students and locality has undoubtedly suggested the question as to the stage of the student's educational development at which he should be introduced to such a course. My answer would be: At any point from the kindergarten up, and the earlier the better. As a matter of fact such instruction begins in a very informal way, and usually quite uncritically, in the home before the kindergarten age is reached. It is in these early years and on through the grammar grades that the study of social mechanisms and functions should be most simple and local in character, although of course advancing in complexity of materials and in breadth of scope on into the high school and the college. Even kindergarten students can be taught to grasp the immediate organizations and functions of the home and family, the local fire department, the school, church, playgrounds, parks, streets and roads, farm and retail business organization and service, and a few other simple

matters of the social situation. As a matter of fact all normal children do come to understand these in a general way, just as a child who has not studied geography in the school will, nevertheless, have a more or less adequate working knowledge of his geographic surroundings. But such empirical pick-up knowledge lacks background and balanced organization. If the study of geography in the school helps to systematize, expand, and vitalize the child's empirical knowledge of his functional geographic relationships, so will the systematic study of local social organization and social functions, under the guidance of a competent teacher who does not push the child beyond his depth—who is intensive rather than extensive in her methods of instruction and leadership—give to the child a much more vital understanding of the limited social world in which he lives in the kindergarten age.

Such instruction—call it civic or sociological; it makes no difference, for it is sociological—will also prepare the young student to enter intelligently into the wider living and educational experiences which await him as he advances in age and experience. The teacher is his guide and friend, introducing him ever into a wider intellectual grasp of his social world. As he advances from grade to grade the sociological materials he studies must also develop in complexity and in scope. He not only passes from the local fire department and the policeman on his beat to the city and county government, from the retail storekeeper to the wholesaler, and from the local school and church to the organization and function of the newspaper, the town forum, and the commercial organization of amusements, and the like, but he also constantly develops new understandings and new meanings for the very local institutions which he has already studied in so far as he was able to appreciate and understand them, with his narrow child's outlook. In other words, he constantly deepens his analysis of the social organization and functioning at the

same time that he extends the scope of his view of social facts. With such a process of expansion and intensification he is able in his high-school years to study the social organization and functioning on a State-wide, a national, and even an international scale. He may now enter into an understanding analysis of the family, including marriage and divorce, child care and training; of death and morbidity rates and distribution and causes, of educational and general cultural, including religious organizations and functions; of reform and other social-reconstruction agencies, of agencies for readjusting the maladjusted and of reintegrating or segregating and sterilizing those rendered antisocial, or otherwise abnormal by the severity or the maladministration of the social adjustment processes, of the relation of population to productivity and to natural resources and the needs of society, of conflicts and adjustment between economic classes and between nations; and of other important social adjustment processes with which he must and does make frequent contact in his own expanding life activities.

Such a course as this, you may say, is but the old social-problems course, which the sociological wiseacres have taught us to avoid. Perhaps it is, in a way at least, a social-problems course, but its emphasis is not so much upon the matter of solving national and international problems, which seem to be quite too much even for the statesmen of our day, as upon the description of what goes on in the social world. It is descriptive rather than normative sociology, *although the student should by no means be discouraged from attempting to use his mind in solving the problems with which this descriptive material brings him in contact.* In fact he should be encouraged to try his hand, or rather his mind, but at the same time his teacher should warn him that these problems are very complex and have many intricate interconnections and that one needs to be an expert to master them completely. This should be told him in such a way that he will

not decide that he can do nothing with such problems but that he will be stimulated either to become an expert himself or to detect the difference between an expert and a politician and to support the former rather than the latter in matters involving problems of social construction and social reconstruction.

Such a course should, I believe, be concrete rather than abstract and it should be concerned with the present rather than with the past, with the near-at-hand and vitally important rather than with the remote in time and space and in immediate human concern. I should urge these characteristics of the high-school work in sociology because I believe the adolescent demands especially a content that is realistic and immediate in importance. There is already too much in the public-school curriculum that is of a vague, remote, and daydreamy character. Let sociology at least have the virtue of challenging the student's sense of reality and of stimulating him to participation and achievement. Above all things the student, like any other normal human being, needs to understand the world he lives in, and this understanding, like every other virtue that is worth-while, must begin at home in order to be most effective. This has been the keynote of all of the sociological work outlined for the public schools in this paper so far.

III

But what should be the relation of the high-school course to the first course in the college or university? In general I should say that the college or university course should presuppose the concrete realistic content of the high-school and grade-school work and should be built directly upon it. In some parts of the country where there has been no preliminary work in sociology in the public schools and where the majority or a large portion of the college students take up sociology in the freshman and sophomore years of college work, I am inclined to think that the first college course should be of essentially the same character as

that outlined for the high school, with perhaps a somewhat more penetrating analysis of the social situation and the introduction of perhaps some more interpretative elements throughout and near the end of the course. If, however, practically all of the students who take sociology in college can be counted upon to have had high-school work in the subject, somewhat after the manner and character I have described above, I believe the first course in such institutions should be quite different and of essentially the character to be outlined farther on. If the students who enter the first college course are of both types—some of whom have had a high-school course and others who have not—I believe there should be two first courses, one of the concrete descriptive kind for the second group of students and another more analytical and interpretative course for the first groups, and that the more advanced of these courses could be, perhaps should be, taken for credit by those who had studied the other course. The reason why I think the younger college students—freshmen and sophomores—who have not had a high-school course in sociology should take a concrete course descriptive of the most important social organizations and functions is perhaps obvious enough. Such preliminary content and training in concrete descriptive facts is essential to a more penetrating analysis and interpretation of social processes and adjustment problems. However, I should say that this concrete descriptive course properly belongs in the high school and should be found in the college or university only when and where the high school has not, for some reason or other, been able to perform its full and proper educational functions.

IV

This more advanced first course in sociology, which, as I conceive it, belongs to the college and the university proper, as distinguished from the high school, I shall describe in somewhat

greater detail. For nearly twenty years I have been giving approximately the course I am describing, changing it here and there to meet the variant needs of the different institutions in which I have taught and the different grades of preparation of the students I have had in my classes. I hope I have been able to improve its content and the method of its presentation as the years have passed. Something approximating this course has been given by me successively at Western Reserve, Florida, Missouri, Minnesota, Chicago, Tulane, North Carolina, and Washington universities. I present the outline here as a basis of discussion. The general viewpoint of the course, as I have conceived it, is that of bringing as concretely as possible before the student (1) those factors which have produced society and are still producing it, (2) a concrete picture of the process of evolution of his society, (3) the organization of the evolved society, and (4) the control processes which keep the society in functional organization. Such a plan of organization involves the presentation of the course from both evolutionary and cross-section viewpoints, and the harmonization of these two viewpoints in such a way that the student will see only unity in the course.

I begin the course, therefore, with an analysis of the natural environments and a corresponding account of the typical ways in which these environments have influenced the development and organization of society. These natural environments are subdivided into the geographic (contour, surface, and distance), the climatic, the fauna and the flora, and the inorganic resources. The treatment here is concrete, but always ending in dependable sociological generalizations. Care is exercised to see that the content of this section of the course is not geography, climatology, biology, or economics, but sociology, and this objective is accomplished by holding the emphasis to the effects of the natural environment upon human society rather than to an analysis of this environment itself.

Following this phase of the course, two or three times as much attention is given to the evolution of the social or cultural environments and the effects of this evolution upon man as a social being or member of society. The point is made at the beginning of this section that the social environments are not original elements in the situation, as are the natural environments, but that they are cultural products of the impact of man (originally himself a part of the natural environment exclusively) upon the natural environments as outlined above. The cause of this impact of man upon nature, or upon the rest of nature, is the search for an adjustment of man to the conditions of survival and reproduction. At first the struggle for adjustment can be stated primarily in terms of the search for food, shelter, sex, companionship, and safety. Later more derivative and ideal reflective elements enter as objectives in the struggle of man for adjustment to his world, but by this time his world has become largely and increasingly social or cultural as well as physical and natural. The further point is made in this connection, that the cultural environments are at first an incidental by-product of man's adjustment to the natural world, and that they are produced by the transformations of nature in the adjustment process. However, these cultural by-products accumulate and increase in volume until in time they do more to control the social behavior of man than does nature itself. Today man is primarily a creature of culture rather than of nature in his social relationships.

These cultural or social environments, which arose originally as by-products of man's adjustment to nature, and which were originally produced out of nature, are classified in my course as four in number and are called (1) the physicosocial environment, corresponding roughly to the anthropologists' category of material culture, (2) the biosocial environment, embracing the whole field of domesticated plants and animals, trained and bred animals, and men, all of which have been produced as a

means to the better and more economical adjustment of man to the living process; (3) the psychosocial environment, embracing the whole field of communication, tradition, literature, philosophy, and science, which now dominate not only the spiritual, but also the material life of man; and (4) the derivative institutional environment, which has arisen out of the other cultural environments as a device and a method for the control of man in his social and material contacts—in short, as a method of domesticating, regimenting, and stimulating him. I said a moment ago that these several cultural environments were and are derived originally from the natural environments. This is easily demonstrated. The physicosocial environment of tools, utensils, weapons, etc., consists of transformed natural objects fashioned by man for his use. The biosocial environment of domesticated plants and animals and trained animals and men is but natural life forms whose functioning and behavior have been reformed and redirected better to meet the needs of man. Language, the initial form of the psychosocial environment, is a humanly developed symbol produced by the transformation and standardization of instinctive or random vocalizations and neuromuscular movements. The institutional environment is a compositely integrated environment wholly derived from the preceding three cultural environments.

The function of this somewhat detailed analysis of the cultural environments is, as was pointed out above, to show the student as concretely as possible how the social world of which he is a part came to be what it now is. This object supposedly having been accomplished, the course next turns to a cross-section analysis of social institutions and processes as they now exist. The attempt is made at this stage in the course to show to the student in so far as time and materials are available the whole panorama of social behavior, including the various temporary and fixed forms of social contact, communication, and organization. Insti-

tutions are studied, groupings and associations of various sorts are analyzed, means and objectives in the social adjustment process are discovered and discussed. In the fourth and final part, the various means and methods of social control, such as propaganda, through the various organs it uses; social conditioning in family, school, church, industry, and the world at large; and the motivations that come to the member of society through both tradition and science are analyzed with the dual intent of giving the student a picture of his cultural or social world and of enabling him intelligently to orient himself toward that world and to function effectively in it. The last two parts of the course dealing with social organization and social control respectively are closely supplementary to each other. In fact, they may be regarded as the obverse and reverse of the same instructional processes. The student is made to see this fact, but for purposes of analysis the subjects of social organization and social control are treated separately.

V

Finally, as to the objectives or aims of the course. These may be stated briefly as (1) to lead the student to an understanding of how the social world in which he lives came to be, and what are the factors, natural and cultural, which are constantly forming and reforming it; (2) to see himself functioning in this same evolving and changing process, his behavior being determined by the complexity of situations in which he lives and which condition him; (3) to see this social world in cross section in order that the student may form a composite picture of the environments which condition him and against which and with which he must react in making his own adjustments to the social life process; and (4) to enable him to understand the control processes by which his behavior is determined and by which he may aid in the determination of the behavior of others.

It is clear, I think, from the analysis as a whole that the treatment of the course is decidedly functional, or as some would say, behavioristic, as opposed to static. The viewpoint throughout is that man has developed society as a by-product of his attempts to adjust himself to the living process and that the study of sociology should concern itself primarily with this life adjustment process in its collective aspects. Throughout, the course is kept on as concrete a level as possible, but this does not mean that the subject matter is made trivial. Good hard functional thinking is required. The objectives of the course are sufficiently general in their scope that I find that the general plan of the course fits all the types of the students I have had contact with in various parts of the country, but the illustrative material naturally needs to be varied according to locality and composition of classes. It is believed that the things emphasized by the general plan of the course are those of most importance to the beginning student in sociology, the things about which he needs to achieve orientation. Furthermore, they do not anticipate unnecessarily the content of more advanced and specialized courses in sociology. Whether such a course would prove equally satisfactory to other teachers I cannot tell.

EDUCATING THE TRANSIENT¹

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Of the many different forms taken by the Federal Relief program, one of the most interesting is that set up to care for the country's migratory individuals and families. Begun in May 1933, the development of an efficient technique for the handling of transients has been rapid. Significant of the progressiveness of the program has been the growing feeling among its administrators that, in addition to the essentials which it has been their function to provide, theirs also is the responsibility—certainly the opportunity—of better equipping their clients for return to the work-a-day world. Necessarily at first forced to place emphasis upon the best means of furnishing food and shelter, transient administrations over the country have endeavored, in varying degrees, to build up well-rounded educational programs aimed at enabling the transient to cope more successfully with the economic vicissitudes which have forced him to turn to the Government for aid.

A quick review of the educational and retraining opportunities open to the transient would show a great variation not only between States but between transient units within one State. One bureau may offer to its clients a few sketchy academic courses while another in the same region provides thoroughgoing instruction in a number of practical fields. As yet, the training available in the majority of centers constitutes little more than a means of occupying time and raising morale, adding heterogeneous bits to the individual's knowledge and ability. That there is a definite trend in the other direction, however, is indicated by the growing number of exceptions to the foregoing statement. There has been an increasing number of instances in which the educational facilities are the result of con-

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siderable thought and effort, are adapted to individual backgrounds and interests, and aimed at providing the transient with the specific weapons he will need in attempting to find and hold for himself a niche in the ranks of the employed.

Most centers which have fairly well-developed and successful educational programs give most attention to that training which has a direct tie-up with the future of the individual concerned. In regard to employables such programs embody an attempt to give the craftsman the opportunity to "keep his hand in," to give the unskilled man training in some specific field, and in the same way to fit for self-support the youth who has little training or employment experience.

A few States have set up centers with educational objectives chiefly in mind. Arizona, one of the most progressive States as regards transient education, took over and reconditioned as a transient camp an abandoned Indian school near the Colorado River, establishing there the Fort Mojave Vocational School. Young transients between sixteen and twenty-five years learn one or more trades and have received academic instruction from teachers working for the FERA Emergency Education project. Trade subjects range all the way from agriculture and sheet-metal work to commercial art and journalism. The academic courses include such subjects as sociology, entomology, astronomy, and Spanish. Nebraska has a similar undertaking at the Bellevue Vocational School, although the courses given are not as practical as those at Fort Mojave. The "curriculum" nevertheless contains such widely varying subjects as bookbinding, voice culture, welding, and grammar.

Most of the educational work offered in the regular transient camps or shelters touches upon several fields including, in addition to vocational and academic training, instruction in the commercial, avocational, and, more rarely, the discussion-group fields. Chief emphasis seems to fall upon other than academic

work, transients shying away from this type of education because it smacks too much of formal schooling and because they can see no very direct connection between such enlightenment and their own needs.

Transient units have tapped a number of sources for the leadership needed to carry forward their educational programs. Many units enjoy the excellent coöperation of local school administrations and as a consequence have been able to place clients in day and evening schools. Other centers, and the majority would fall under this classification, have used FERA instructors from the Emergency Education project, or made use of this leadership in conjunction with local school authorities. Some bureaus rely on volunteer aid from interested individuals and organizations, a large percentage realize on the abundant leadership to be found among the clients themselves. As an example, Philadelphia employs all these sources in its several centers, and in addition offers correspondence courses, particularly to its transient families scattered throughout the city.

Several transient educational projects have been out of the ordinary. The Texas Transient Administration, with the close coöperation of college officials, last year enrolled almost two hundred carefully selected clients in a variety of courses at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. The men were housed on the campus at no greater expense than that which would have been involved in giving them regular congregate camp or shelter care. The Texas administrators feel that the results of the experiment more than justify its undertaking. On a smaller scale a somewhat similar project was a part of the educational program at Camp Long, Las Vegas, New Mexico, where thirty-five transients enrolled in the State Normal School—and made good. Among the courses offered at the many retreats for migrants are to be found a number of unusual sub-

jects. Camp Foster, Florida, transients get training in taxi-dermy; aviation is taught to men at the Algiers Naval Station, New Orleans, by means of a Boering plane; courses in rug weaving are a part of the Springfield, Illinois, program.

While the majority of transient educational programs are instituted chiefly with the man under forty years in mind, the need of the older man for training or retraining is not overlooked. Many practical courses such as window cleaning, janitorial and custodial service, and the like have been given, offered on the basis of the probability that many transients will never be able to secure reentry into the more active and skilled industrial fields. Tied in with the everyday duties of shelter maintenance, these "earthy" courses are in many centers given a concrete relation to the individual's future, in that strenuous efforts are made to place him, when he has attained a sufficient degree of ability, in a job calling for a corresponding degree of capability.

That this new extension of the educational field has been heartily approved by both educators and laymen will readily be understood when one realizes that in order to remove permanently the transient from relief rolls he must be given more than bread and butter. Craftsmen whose hands have long been idle, others who have ability in no particular field, youngsters who have had practically no employment experience—all will be better able to readjust themselves to the demands of the working world. Evidence of the past few weeks points to the probable closing of transient bureau doors the country over within the year, this proposed "closing up of shop" being based on the assumption that by that date all employable wanderers will have been placed on profits of the Works Progress Administration. The subsequent employment history of a good percentage of these men will undoubtedly testify to the worthwhileness of the educational programs instituted on their behalf by the Federal transient administration.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF FRESHMEN WOMEN

Edna C. Spenker has recently completed a study of adjustment problems of freshmen women of the University of Oregon, 1931-1932, compared with those of campus junior women, 1932-1933, and high-school seniors, 1932-1933, expecting to attend the University.¹

The purpose of the study was to find out what problems are faced by college freshmen women, their intensity, and whether some of these problems exist among junior women and among high-school seniors.

The qualitative or case approach was made to the study, though some of the findings are expressed quantitatively. The interviewer conferred with such case under a controlled environment adapted to the subject being interviewed. This was for the purpose of putting each girl at ease during the interview. A study of the personality of each girl gave the interviewer an opportunity to meet her at a carefree moment when she would not be on the defensive. Most of the interviews were thus held in the girl's room, sleeping room, or a cozy nook in her fraternity house. If the environment was strange to the girl or her mood defensive, the problem was approached again later. The girl was first allowed to volunteer information and then a set of questions asked of her. Both records were kept for the study; e.g., the first person volunteer interview and the "yes-no" answers.

With high-school girls, the interviewer has made the study in connection with other volunteer interviews wherein the girls asked for personnel conferences and the subject of conversation was easily turned to give the information needed for the study.

Incidentally, a study of causes for "mortality rate" or those dropping out of school among freshmen women of 1931-1932 enrollments was made by tracing those leaving school in 1931-1933 through actual contact or friends.

¹ Statement furnished through the courtesy of Edna C. Spenker, Dean of Girls, Pendleton High School, Pendleton, Oregon

The study was completed and is to be followed up through the University of Oregon, department of sociology. Grants have been given to Dean Spenker through Dr. Samuel Haig Jameson of that department.

1935 SOCIOLOGICAL MEETINGS TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK

The 1935 meetings of the American Sociological Society are to be held in New York City at the Hotel Commodore on December 27-29, 1935. The committee on local arrangements is as follows. Shelby M. Harrison, Russell Sage Foundation, Edmund deS. Brunner, Teachers College, Ludwig Kast, Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation; M. J. Karpf, Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Graduate School, New York University, Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University, Millard L. Robinson, General Secretary, New York Bible Society, Donald Young, Social Science Research Council, Clairette P. Armstrong, Clinical and Consulting Psychologist, Domestic Relations Court, New York; Harry Elmer Barnes, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, George S. Counts, Teachers College, Stanley P. Davies, General Director, Charity Organization Society of New York, Harold Fields, Executive Director, National League of American Citizenship, F. E. Johnson, Federal Council of Churches; Galen M. Fisher, Institute of Social and Religious Research; Eugene T. Lies, National Recreational Association, Harry L. Lurie, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, Ann Elizabeth Neeley, National Board, Y. W. C. A.; E. George Payne, School of Education, New York University, Irving V. Sollins, American University of Moscow; Richard H. Thornton, President, Henry Holt and Company, Theo F. Abel, Columbia University; Harry Alpert, College of City of New York; E. R. A. Seligman, Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, C. C. Carstens, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America; Leroy E. Bowman, Child Study Association; Porter R. Lee, Director, New York School of Social Work, Clarence G. Ditmer, Washington Square College, New York University; Herbert N. Shenton, Syracuse University, Samuel Joseph, College of the City of New York, Frederic M. Thrasher, *Chairman*, New York University.

These meetings will constitute an excellent opportunity for students, social workers, and other persons having a professional interest in sociology and social research to hear at first hand the leaders in this

field in the United States. Many discussions and papers of particular interest in the field of research in educational sociology will be presented. Several sessions will be devoted exclusively to the field of educational sociology. For further information concerning these meetings communications should be addressed to Dr. Herbert T. Blumer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Other learned societies meeting at the same time in New York will be: American Economic Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Association of University Instructors in Accounting, American Association of University Teachers of Insurance; American Farm Economic Association, American Statistical Association, Association of Teachers of Business Law, Econometric Society; National Association of Marketing Teachers.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON RESEARCHES

The University of North Carolina Press will soon publish an interesting monograph by Norman S. Hayner on *Hotel Life*.² Although essentially exploratory in character, this manuscript is based on a more or less continuous study over a period of thirteen years. The emphasis is on the situation in America, but European observations have been added by way of contrast. The best available statistical material is supplemented by original case documents, short excerpts from the literature of the field, and general observations.

The investigation covered the following topics. (1) *Hotel Life and Personality* (introduction); topics under Part I, *Habitats for Travelers*, as follows: (1) *Caravansery to Cottage Court*, (2) *Hotels and Urban Areas*; (3) *Hotel Homes*, and (4) *Why Live in a Hotel?* Topics under Part II, *People Who Live in Hotels*: (1) *Trends in the Hotel Population*; (2) *Types of Hotel Dwellers*; (3) *Emancipated Families*, and (4) *The Hotel Child*. Topics under Part III, *Behavior Away from Home*: (1) *The Lure of Highways and City Lights*, (2) *Problems of Human Nature*; and (3) *The Hotel and American Society*.

Other research studies being carried on by Professor Hayner include a continuation of the studies reported in "Delinquency Areas in the Puget Sound Region."³ Maps of the various Puget Sound cities are being

² This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Professor Norman S. Hayner of the department of sociology of the University of Washington (Seattle).

³ *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, 3 (November 1933), pp. 314-328.

drafted to show by means of cross hatching significant differences between neighborhoods in the average rates of delinquency. Gangs and families, as well as neighborhoods, are included in the scope of the project. A paper on "The Treatment of Juvenile Offenders in London" has reached the "data-collected" stage. A study of "The Cultural Factor in Racial Crime" is in its initial stages. The wide variety of racial groups on the Pacific Rim makes this enterprise promising.

DELINQUENCY IN NONDELINQUENCY AREAS

The purpose of this study (by Percy A. Robert) is to determine the significance of the "community factor" in delinquency.⁴ Shaw's delinquency-area studies indicate that this particular factor is important. Delinquency occurs in sections of the city which are not characterized by high delinquency rates. By comparing such cases with cases from delinquency areas, *where factors other than residence are similar*, it is hoped to establish the importance, one way or the other, of the "community factor."

Spot maps of four classes of cases handled by the Probation Department of Essex County, New Jersey, were prepared. These were juvenile probation, adult probation, domestic relations, and committed cases. The white and colored cases were separated as were the male and female for each class. The result was sixteen maps. From these maps the concentrations were determined and the boundaries of such concentrations outlined on other maps which were then superimposed one on the other to determine the delinquency areas. Cases falling outside the delinquency areas are to be compared with a similar number of cases which occur within the delinquency areas.

The methods used are ecological, observational, interview, and case-history analysis. At the present time sufficient data have not been secured to warrant any conclusions.

⁴ This statement is furnished through the courtesy of Percy A. Robert, department of sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Way, by JOHN W. STUDEBAKER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935, 206 pages.

The American Association for Adult Education, although a comparatively young organization, has much to its credit. One is a grant to the Board of Education of Des Moines, Iowa, for the purpose of organizing public forums for the discussion of public questions. *The American Way* is an account of that program. The author was superintendent of schools there. He is now United States Commissioner of Education.

The book is well named. Public interest in government and its problems has in all likelihood never been keener than it has during the last four or five years. Mr. Average Citizen has been perplexed and vexed by the multifarious and divergent nostrums that have appeared in print, and that have been discussed here and there. What then is more natural and logical than a systematic attempt to have these matters discussed publicly by qualified proponents. The stimulation and direction of thought is certain to produce healthful results. Des Moines is certain to be more intelligent regarding current public issues, and the whole country will ultimately profit from the project.

Dr. Studebaker sees great values in public forums. The latter part of *The American Way* is devoted to his ideas for federal support and participation in a nation-wide program similar to the one he supervised in Des Moines.

The appendices are by no means a minor part of the volume. They are rich with illustrative material that may well serve as guides to local leaders in other municipalities who are seeking to determine the public pulse on civic matters. The book should be in the library of every one interested in adult education because the public forum, as one of the methods of adult education, is of national importance.

Ten Years of Adult Education, by MORSE ADAMS CARTWRIGHT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935, 208 pages.

This book gives us hope and courage in that it depicts the growth and spread of adult education during the last decade. It also gives us pause and challenge because it reveals a multiplicity of unrelated agencies engaged in a multiplicity of unrelated projects. There is no

pattern That may be an advantage for the time being. In fact, a pattern would be a distinct disadvantage now or later if it tended to standardize programs in the field of adult education Standardization is inconsistent with the educational needs of American adults.

Dr. Cartwright has presented a brief history of the adult-education movement in this country. The main part of the volume is a panoramic view of the work of the most important agencies that have financially supported adult education and that have otherwise added momentum to the movement. The different aspects of adult education also receive due treatment.

The social significance of adult education commands too little space and thought. The author is capable of much more critical thinking on this point.

Nevertheless, his analysis and exposition of adult education in this country during the last ten years is a highly commendable performance. That is after all what Dr. Cartwright undertook to do in *Ten Years of Adult Education*. He is a recognized leader and his book should be added to every library on adult education.

Parents Look at Modern Education, by WINIFRED E. BAIN
New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935, 330
pages

The book is misnamed. Professor Bain looks at modern education and writes a much needed book for parents. He does it thoroughly from a pedagogue's point of view. It is too long to enable it to serve its widest usefulness.

There is much, however, to commend it For the most part the author writes a lay language, albeit a high level He discusses the nursery school, the kindergarten, the progressive elementary school (contracted effectively with traditional schools), the teacher, organization and equipment, tests, records and reports, and discipline. One of his most important chapters deals with cooperating agencies

The book should appeal to serious mothers' clubs and parents' associations engaged in systematic study of modern education It should be followed by a primer for the average individual parent.

A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria, by
STUART CARTER DODD. Beirut, Lebanon Republic: American Press, 1934, 235 pages.

This volume makes a socioscientific approach to the study of public health in Syria, involving a controlled experiment in rural hygiene. The author develops a scale for the measurement of health status, and uses the scale before and after an experimental program seeking to improve health conditions. The value of the book lies in its scientific technique.

Economic Consequences of the New Deal, by BENJAMIN STOLBERG AND WARREN JAY VINTON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935, 85 pages.

This volume is a relatively short indictment of President Roosevelt and his New Deal administration. The authors conclude that Mr. Roosevelt has so far failed miserably with his New Deal and must inevitably fail to an even greater degree. According to them big ownership has not been curbed but in fact is growing more powerful. The concluding paragraph on page 85 is as follows. "There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake. A first-rate earthquake, from coast to coast, could have reestablished scarcity much more effectively, and put all the survivors to work for the greater glory of Big Business—with far more speed and far less noise than the New Deal."

The volume is an excellent example of the type of thing being rushed off the presses these days. Of all the facts and figures quoted not a single documentary footnote is given for any one. The premises and conclusions seem to be dictated more from the grounds of emotionalism than from sober judgment. It is an interesting example also of distorted logic to note the conclusions which the authors quote as inevitable results of their premises and to contrast these conclusions with a myriad of other conclusions reached by the many other writers using the same premises.

The Great Change, by FRANK BOHN and RICHARD T. ELY. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935, 373 pages.

The content of this very readable book is indicated in the subtitle, "Work and Wealth in the New Age." It includes such subjects as business organization, money and banking, socialism, communism, and fascism, labor and labor unions, and nationalism and internationalism. Yet, despite the comprehensiveness of its scope, the reader closes the book with a sense of understanding of the problems presented and with no feeling of superficiality in the authors' treatment of them.

Democratic Governments in Europe, by EUGENE P. CHASE, ROBERT VALEUR, and RAYMOND L. BUELL. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935, 597 pages.

In many respects this is a companion volume to Buell's *New Governments in Europe*. For those who read this earlier volume, the present book needs no introduction, for it is written with the same clarity and thoroughness. The only criticism which might well be made is the seeming implication in the title that it includes all of the democratic governments in Europe, and yet limits its content to England, France, and a short chapter on Switzerland. For the reader who is interested especially in the first two countries named, there is perhaps no clearer analysis in print than that made in this volume.

Political Ethics, by DANIEL SOMMER ROBINSON. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1935, xii + 288 pages.

In a semipopular manner, the author, who is a professor of philosophy at Indiana University, has applied "ethical principles to political relations." After postulating the ideal state, he evaluates the degree of conformity of actual states (Soviet, dictatorships, and representative democracies) to the ideal. In the same comparative manner, the author searchingly evaluates from an ethical point of view the basic problems of international relations. The book is planned as a "pioneer text" for the general reader and for discussion groups and, as such, fulfills its purpose admirably.

An Introduction to the Study of Society, by FRANK H. HANKINS. New York: The Macmillan Company, revised edition, 1935, 789 pages.

This revision of a widely used text does not cover all of the subjects usually found in an introductory sociology, but those dealt with are covered much more adequately than is usually the case. After a hundred and fifty interesting pages on social origins, the physiographic, biological, psychological, and cultural factors in social life are treated at length, followed by an exposition of two typical institutions—religion and the family. The last two chapters return to the field of social evolution, showing the change through which culture has passed and is passing. The book is interesting, unusually well written, and of sound scholarship.

Negro Politicians, by HAROLD F. GOSNELL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935, 373 pages.

Numerous studies have been made in the field of urban politics in the United States, and for the past quarter of a century an increasing body of material has been printed on party bosses and machine politics as they have operated in city life. Moreover, many studies have been made dealing with the place of the Negro in American civilization, both in the larger urban centers such as Chicago and New York and in rural communities, but this book, describing the activities of Negro politicians, is the first attempt to give a detailed account of the political struggles of a minority cultural group in an American metropolitan community. This book is, therefore, significant both as a first study of its kind, and also as a research covering a period of five years in which the data are gathered in a specific local area, Chicago, and from direct observation, interviews, and informal conversations, thus presenting an original body of facts not found elsewhere in print.

Government Control of the Economic Order, by BENJAMIN E. LIPPINCOTT *et al.* Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, 1935, viii+119 pages.

This is a series of articles dealing with the problem of government control of the economic system here and abroad, including England, Russia, Germany, and Sweden. For the most part, the authors believe that greater rather than less control by government is not only inevitable but desirable.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Advanced Thinking in American Education, by FRANCES BURKE BRANDT. Camden, New Jersey: Haddon Craftsmen, Inc.

Ancestry of the Long-Lived, by RAYMOND PEARL and RUTH DEWITT PEARL. Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press.

Development of Poor Relief Legislation in Kansas, by GRACE A. BROWNING. Chicago The University of Chicago Press.

Education of the Slow-Learning Child, by CHRISTINE P. INGRAM. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York World Book Company.

Growth. A Study of Johnny and Jimmy, by MYRTLE B. MCGRAW. New York D Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

Home School Relations Philosophy and Practice, by SARA E. BALDWIN and ERNEST G. OSBORNE New York. Progressive Education Association.

- Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk, I—Women 15 to 29 Years of Age*, by MILDRED B THUROW. Ithaca Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.
- Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk, II—Men 15 to 29 Years of Age*, by W. A. ANDERSON and WILLIS KERNS. Ithaca. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.
- Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, by MICHAEL DEMIASHKEVICH. New York: American Book Company.
- Man, the Unknown*, by ALEXIS CARREL. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Outlook Upon the Future of British Unemployed, Mental Patients and Others*, by NATHAN ISRAELI Lancaster, Pennsylvania Science Press Printing Company.
- Psycho-Analysis for Teachers and Parents*, by ANNA FREUD. New York Emerson Books, Inc.
- Range of Human Capacities*, by DAVID WECHSLER. Baltimore The Williams and Wilkins Company.
- Socializing Experiences in the Elementary School*, 14th Yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association, 1935. Washington National Education Association.
- Speech Correction on the Contract Plan*, by RUTH B MANSER. New York Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Teaching of Literature*, by REED SMITH. New York American Book Company.
- Three Family Narratives*, by GEORGE K. PRATT. New York: National Council of Parent Education.
- Understanding Yourself*, by ERNEST R. GROVES New York: Greenburg, Publisher.
- United States and Neutrality*, by QUINCY WRIGHT. Publicity Pamphlet No. 17. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Vectors of Mind*, by L. L. THURSTONE. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.
- Why We Feel That Way*, by A. W. TRETTEEN Boston. Stratford Company.

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EDITORIAL

The continuous modifications that occur in society and demand new methods of procedure and changes in social organization are quite generally recognized. The advantage of today becomes the handicap of tomorrow, although the reorganization is usually met by strong resistance. This need for a change in methods is well illustrated by what has occurred in our efforts to meet the needs for social adjustment. It is but yesterday that the general social reaction to the needs of individuals in distress was charity, a sort of hand-to-mouth relief which served as an outlet for sympathy, but led to the pauperization of the recipient. When some of the causes of maladjustment and social distress came to be understood, the need for a change in methods was likewise recognized. Intelligent direction and aid came to be substituted for pity and charity.

This change of attitude brought about the need for educated persons who understood the principles underlying human relationships and well trained in the techniques and methods for meeting particular kinds of social maladjustment. The advances made in medicine, in psychiatry, in the fields of psychology, economics, biology, and sociology require that the equipment for doing social work today is as far removed from the requirements of a few years ago as charity relief is from intelligent guidance.

Growing out of the new situations into which social workers were hurled from 1916 to 1920, the need for planned adjust-

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ment of social disorganization was more and more clearly recognized. The efforts to train people who dealt with social situations covered the range from suggested college courses on the "human side of engineering" to the development of schools of social work which had built up a curriculum containing the results of the best scientific research and practical experience.

However, as recently as 1933 an article appeared in a leading educational magazine, which was based on the point of view that social work was not a profession, that graduate training for social work was superfluous, and that social work was largely routine which required no specialized technical or professional training other than that obtained by an undergraduate major in social science. While the point of view and its substantiating data were presented in a creditable manner, the attitude expressed carried me back about thirty-five years when I heard a carpenter exclaim, "Do you mean to say that Henry is going to the University of Wisconsin to learn to be a farmer? Shucks, any one willing to work can farm." And a few years later, when a young man suggested going to a teachers' training school, a member of a school board stated, "What do you mean? Go to school to learn to be a teacher? Tell the children what to study and make them behave." Attitudes not so different from the above found expression during the last few years when the depression gave rise to a demand for persons to help with the almost unparalleled relief situation. A more complete understanding of society, however, has become a part of our cultural background and the ultimate result is certain to be more adequate education and better training in the technical aspects of social work.

M. C. ELMER

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK IN THE NEW ORDER

ARLIEN JOHNSON
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The terminology current in our conversations and literature of "a changing world" seems recently to have given way to "a new order." Does this reflect, perhaps, a step toward acceptance of fundamental changes in our economic and social relationships? The use of the term at least should challenge seriously our thinking about concepts basic to social work and education for social work.

The birth pangs of a new order are peculiarly painful today because of defective coördination among the parts of our body politic. Our economic, governmental, and moral ideas and ideals are out of alignment with one another and within themselves. Or, as a social scientist has put it, "There is in our social organizations an institutional inertia, and in our social philosophies a tradition of rigidity,"¹ which makes the rapidly changing world today a world of conflicts and contradictions.

Under these circumstances, he is indeed presumptuous who undertakes the role of a prophet. But he is also deaf, dumb, and blind who fails to see emerging certain significant trends which, if harnessed and driven with a firm hand, might lead indeed to a new order. A few trends which seem significant and pertinent as a background for any discussion of the future of professional education for social work will be briefly mentioned.

First, the replacement of the individualistic tradition by a collectivist economy has been emerging for many years and is at last beginning to be discerned and recognized.² A recent report issued by the American Historical Association states:

¹ "A Review of Findings," *Recent Social Trends*, President's Research Committee on Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. xxviii.

² George S. Counts, "The Social Foundations of Education," American Historical Association, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part IX, p. 527.

The practical man has no choice but to make his peace with the great trend toward an interdependent society. To attempt to restore the economy of a century ago or to erect an individualistic superstructure on socialized foundations would be utterly Utopian. To move in this direction would be to court disaster. The hands of the clock of cultural evolution cannot be turned back. Already men have been irrevocably changed by the new forces.

The sharpness of the conflict can be expected to increase until some balance is achieved which will restore a degree of well-being to the mass of the population. To social workers who know so poignantly the barrenness of life for those living at the subsistence level and the damage done by the scourge of unemployment, this struggle should be one into which they would enter with willingness and determination. The form such participation should take, however, is less clear than the necessity for it, and should be a problem of concern for professional education.

A second and related significant trend today is the expanding sphere of government, almost a commonplace to mention, but fraught for social workers with extraordinary implications. Within three years the principle of "local responsibility," firmly imbedded in the policy of the Federal Government with respect to aid to the disadvantaged, has given way to what promises to be a permanent principle of grants-in-aid to State governments, for various groups. Acceptance of responsibility by the Federal Government has, in turn, forced such acceptance upon the States with the result that there is a possibility of a development of Federal-State-local responsibility for public-welfare services which will eventually provide a comprehensive, universal program and may even lead to preventive measures. Will this result ultimately, perhaps, in a departure from the "individual" approach to poverty and bring us to more positive efforts to deal with groups on the basis of causes producing poverty? The mere possibility should be examined for its bearing upon education for social work.

The third element in our life today which will be mentioned is the interest in fact finding and the importance of applying existing knowledge to practice. Social data already collected relating to effects of modern life upon the family, upon child welfare, upon crime—to mention a few of the subjects of nationwide surveys in recent years—supply material for the social worker to assimilate and apply to the end that methods may be modified accordingly. Human relationships, the medium in which the social worker deals, are never static. Constant inquiry, interpretation, and synthesis of data are necessary if our methods are to keep pace with the problems. Obviously, this is of primary importance to the advancement of professional education.

If we accept these trends—collectivism of some sort, expanding public-welfare services, and wealth of research materials—then, as points of the compass by which to chart our discussion, what guidance do they offer for social work? The depression which has hastened the action of these trends has thrown upon social work burdens too great to bear. The formative stage of our profession is revealed—its weaknesses in philosophy, methodology, the lack of agreement among its leaders as to how we are to proceed from here. But, withal, the strength of the golden thread that holds us together is also exposed. Social work has grown out of the rich soil of concern about the well-being of the great mass of ordinary working men and women. If today we differ in our ideas as to what constitutes “well-being” and how it is to be attained, nevertheless we do have in common a deep concern about the remedying of social injustice. It is well, then, to appraise our progress and to apply our intelligence as best we can.

Before discussing the future of professional education in the light of current trends, let us turn for a moment to an examination of the present status of formal education in preparation for social work. Schools of social work have spread rapidly since the

war, with one and one-half times as many schools established in the ten years 1917-1927 as there had been in the entire preceding eighteen years.⁸ The setting of standards of education among the schools is also more recent, dating from the organization of the American Association of Schools of Social Work in 1919. At present there seems to be agreement upon the desirability of the following fundamentals: (1) preprofessional education around a nucleus of courses in the social and biological sciences; (2) professional education on a graduate basis; (3) an integrated course of graduate study covering the basic principles of social work and including experience in the field under purposive supervision; (4) study of the basic content of courses included in the curriculum of all the member schools. Among the evidences of progress toward these requirements are the growing number of schools unequivocally on a graduate basis and the recent reports of committees of the Association, making recommendations concerning the content of curricula.

Professional education for social work, then, which was only beginning before the onset of the depression to discover some of its "basic unities," has been stimulated and at the same time tested by the cataclysm of the past five years. Progress has been made toward agreement upon certain minimum essentials for education for the profession. I am being so bold as to suggest certain other objectives and points of emphasis which should engage our attention in view of current economic, governmental, and social trends.

First let us inquire what the economic trend toward collectivism means for us. The old individualistic philosophy is not dead yet. It has undoubtedly influenced our approach to human relationships and possibly accounts for the overemphasis social work

⁸ Between 1898 and 1916 there were organized 4 independent schools, 9 departments or schools in colleges or universities, and 2 courses in colleges and universities. From 1917 to 1927, 6 independent schools were organized, 17 departments or schools in colleges and universities, and 3 courses. Compiled from study made by Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, 1926 (mimeographed).

has given to case work, which has been regarded by some as the essence of the whole field.⁴ But the past few years have demonstrated unmistakably the limitations of the individual approach to our social problems. The case worker in the face of unemployment is overwhelmed with a sense of the futility of attempting to maintain morale in families where only employment is needed to return them to normal living. Even under so-called normal times, we cannot indefinitely "adjust" people to conditions that should not exist. The situation becomes intolerable and our efforts unworthy unless we apply our energies at the same time to help remove the conditions.

This is not a criticism of the case-work method itself which in its various applications to human problems and relationships constitutes one of our most useful tools of social treatment. Rather, we have expected the impossible from this field alone without considering it in relation to the other fields of social work and to the economic and political changes going on in society. We are now entering an era when government services will be extended. Do not let us make the mistake of overemphasizing public administration, as we have overemphasized case work. My plea is that we do not keep our professional education in categories. A few years ago we discovered "generic case work." Are we not ready now to discover "generic social work?" Unification of the curriculum seems to me more important at the moment than specialization. Let me illustrate. A few years ago, one of the most able students from the University of Washington went for graduate work to an eastern school of social work. Last year social workers were delighted to hear that she had completed her work and wished to return to Seattle. Several positions were open. To our dismay we found she was unprepared to fill any position except in one highly specialized field of case work in

⁴ Edward C. Lindeman, "Basic Unities in Social Work," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Kansas City), 1934, p. 507.

which she had "majored." The last catalogue of this school states that since all branches of social work cannot be taught with equal success and since the demand is greatest for case workers, the school aims to give specialized training in case work only. From my experience in selecting personnel for the Washington Emergency Relief Administration in the early stages of its organization, I question whether specialization in case work prepares one for the demands of the day. County organization particularly requires knowledge of public-welfare administration, of community organization, of as much of specialized treatment resources as one can know. The injustices of the old poor law with its repressive attitudes, its insistence upon dissociated local responsibility become real to those who work in rural communities, and the removal of poor-law attitudes and structures is possible only when social workers understand their implications and have the skill to demonstrate modern methods of treatment and to develop substitutes for antiquated machinery.

The importance of integrating our procedures in social work is, of course, already recognized, at least on paper, by the member schools of the Association. But what of the extension of instruction in directions not heretofore generally recognized as essential to the professional preparation of social workers? The very foundations of the present economic order are under fire. Changes are inevitable. Should schools of social work wait for new forms of service to develop in their communities before they include them in the curriculum, or should they be in advance of their communities in preparing leaders to initiate new forms of service? I am thinking of the long overdue programs of social insurance that are making an appearance in the United States. If these measures are to succeed—and if our profession is to advance with the times—we cannot afford to omit from the curriculum study of administration of social insurances in this country and abroad. What part will social workers play in the direc-

tion of the nation-wide system of employment exchanges which promise to be established in the next decade? Surely here are fields to explore and to which to relate application of social case work and other procedures peculiar to social work.

What I have been trying to say amounts to this: Professional education for social work should be responsive to the trends of the day. If one of those trends is toward an "interdependent society," how plainly necessary does it become for us to realize the interdependence of the various fields of social work and social endeavor. We cannot alone bring about the new order of co-operation, but we can hasten its progress by providing skills through which the steps toward it can be firmly built. But let us make use of all that we have learned and not be carried away in specialized innovations.

The second trend mentioned earlier in the discussion, the expanding function of government, likewise opens new vistas in professional education for social work. The recently published report of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel includes social work among the professions mentioned in the classification, "professional work," one of five "clearly distinguishable kinds of service" within the province of government.⁸ The Commission recommends the establishment of "career service" under which young persons would enter government service with the intention of continuing under laws, rules, and procedures which would ensure advancement. For the professional group, the Commission specifically recommends: "Certification by accredited professional associations and by legally established professional bodies should be made a prerequisite for all professional and technical positions to which this procedure is applicable."⁹ Here is a challenge and an opportunity.

For many years there have been able persons in public social

⁸ "Better Government Personnel," p. 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7

services under municipal, State, and Federal governments. The increasing participation of States and most recently of the Federal Government in comprehensive programs of public-welfare services makes necessary more than ever such a merit system as that recommended by the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel. In 1923, speaking before the National Conference of Social Work, Miss Julia Lathrop propounded two basic questions to be answered in the next fifty years: one, could we create a public service "of such practical opportunity and such great ideals that our ablest youth might look toward it as a career," and the second question, could we abolish poverty in the next fifty years?⁷ The answer to both of these questions after twelve years is disappointing indeed. But the statement made by Miss Lathrop is as true today as twelve years ago that "A vigorous forward movement is urgent to strengthen the merit system throughout this country. . . . The change should not require fifty years, or twenty-five—why not say ten? We have schools, we have young men and women eager for the opportunity public service should offer. We need only to stir the public imagination and our own."⁸ I wonder if the schools of social work, except for a few notable exceptions, have not been very passive about the importance of the merit system and the public service as a career for their graduates. Again let me emphasize the importance of an integrated curriculum. Well-rounded preparation for public social-service positions is imperative. I find that students do have their imaginations stirred when they see the possibilities for leadership in public welfare. As one young woman in our graduate division of social work confessed the other day, "I begin to see the relation between things. When I first came I'm afraid it was pretty much 'me and my client.'"

⁷ Julia Lathrop, "Transition from Charities and Corrections to Social Work, 1873-1923, and Then?" *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1923, p. 200.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

One other point I should like to make with respect to education as it relates to public social services and that is the effect of great numbers of persons without professional preparation being drawn into the unemployment relief administrations. The demands from these agencies during the depression period seems to me to have confused our thinking at times concerning the place of professional education in schools of social work in the present crisis and in the future. In planning for the future should we not distinguish between the long-time requirements and the temporary demands? A certain number of persons in the unemployment relief administrations are from other professions, some of whom will find such satisfactions in social work that they will wish to remain indefinitely. They should be encouraged as they can be assimilated into permanent organizations, such as the so-called emergency subsidies. (We cannot believe that twenty million people will continue to be cared for by direct relief)

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has recognized the desirability of this eventuality by granting fellowships to a limited number of employees for a period of study in schools of social work. This would seem sound policy that might be extended at least during the demands of the present period. But there are also a number of people in unemployment relief work who will return to other occupations when the opportunity arises. Some of the least well qualified will doubtless wish to continue in social work and will present a problem from the professional point of view in the future. To attempt to provide the same kind of professional education for all these groups is like shooting in all directions at once without a target in sight.

An inquiry of one hundred home visitors in the unemployment relief organization in Seattle brought the following results: They are a *comparatively young group*, about one half being under 30 years of age and only 12 persons being over 40 years of age. In other words, about 85 per cent are under 40

years of age. Their *education*, likewise, is promising. About one half are college graduates and another 30 per cent have had more than two years (but less than four) of college work. Their *previous occupations*, however, show only one quarter to have been in other professions such as teaching, engineering, library work, nursing, etc. If we add business and professional experience together, we find one third to have had experience in one or the other. The remainder were housewives, clerical workers, students, or without any previous occupation. Their expectation for future occupation shows one half definitely not wishing to leave social work.

We have found great eagerness on the part of all of these workers for professional courses. Naturally, they wish to improve their status and to feel that they are making advancement. Is it not the place of schools of social work to clarify the problem by analyzing the needs of numbers of more or less temporary workers and of those persons who will be drawn into the profession permanently? For the latter, full-time or part-time fellowships in a school of social work where they may secure complete preparation even over a period of time would do much to raise the level of performance and give much needed leadership to public service. For the group which will return to other occupations and professions as opportunities occur, "first-aid" courses, and professional courses distinct from the regular curriculum of the schools, would seem advisable. The relief organizations might also classify and assign work in accordance with preparation. Unless we can distinguish between these two groups and provide for their educational needs on different levels, it seems to me we are in danger of losing some of the gains made in professional education without serving effectively to improve the quality of the public service.

When we turn to the trend toward research and its effects upon social work, we should find the schools leading the way.

The schools of social work should have the personnel qualified and also should have the leisure to help apply scientific knowledge already assembled to the existing knowledge, methods, and philosophies we call social work, so that there may be growth. Have we modified our services to families as a result of what we know about the changes that have been taking place in family life? The decreasing size of the family, the employment of women outside the home, the instability of the marriage relationship—have these resulted in new types of services to families? The fact that one third of the unemployed are unskilled workers and another quarter are semiskilled raises questions about vocational guidance as a part of services offered to families and in schools. The shortening of the working day is said to forecast leisure. Group work, recreation, and adult education should grow in importance, accordingly. Does this mean anything to social-work education? We have found eager response from the departments of physical education and the schools of education when collaboration in developing a new type of skill for persons entering community recreation was suggested.

At this point may I mention also the application of historical materials to social work. A few schools include in the curriculum the history of social experimentation. All should, it seems to me. The need for perspective was never greater than it is today. The history of social reform, philanthropy, and social work in the United States and particularly abroad inspire courage, confidence, and motivation.

Progress has definitely been made during the past ten years in the publication of research materials relating to social work. While social work has a content of its own as an applied science, I believe that our profession rests upon "pure" sciences, and that a knowledge of these—notably the social and biological sciences—will determine the rapidity with which we proceed to develop our own materials

More specific definition of preprofessional education, therefore, is important to social-work education in the future. Considerable progress has been made by member schools of the Association in at least mentioning social and biological sciences as prerequisites. But Dr. Esther L. Brown's statement made in 1932 would seem still to hold true, that "As yet, there is no rigid emphasis upon training in the scientific field comparable to that of the premedical requirements."⁹ Six schools specify numbers of hours and name the sciences—usually sociology, economics, and psychology, with political science, biology, and history occurring in one or more combinations. Has the time come to define more exactly what aspects of the social and biological sciences have the greatest importance upon social-work education?

From the standpoint of case work, we have long been aware of the value of knowledge of the biological basis of human nature. The ignorance of the average liberal-arts graduate of elementary physiology is startling. To give "medical information" to such ill-prepared students complicates the problem of instruction. The psychological and sociological bases of human nature, likewise, are fundamental for those who are to deal with family relationships, social attitudes, and problems involved in group behavior.

The sciences of government and law would seem to be essential foundations for instruction in public-welfare administration. The structure and function of local and State governments as well as some knowledge of comparative government will clear the way for firmer grasp on the operation of government in the field of social services. This knowledge could well be secured during undergraduate study. The increasing importance of social legislation, of administrative bodies, of work with courts are reasons why certain aspects of law should be studied for their rela-

⁹ Esther Lucile Brown, "Social Work Against a Background of Other Professions," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1932, p. 531

tion to social work. History and economics during this period should develop understanding of labor's struggle to escape exploitation, and the forces and factors that produce some of the conflicts in society today. In other words, as public welfare begins to take the center of the social-work field, must we not prepare to give new emphasis to its importance for those entering social work?

The requirement of basic scientific knowledge, then, is more vital to social-work education than ever before, because of the necessity of social workers adapting their skills to new situations and needs during this period of disorganization and rapidity of change. The future is uncertain. Flexibility of methods is a mark of professional skill, and flexibility comes from breadth and depth of wisdom. If social workers are to be able to adapt their methods to new conditions, they must have a broad base from which to do creative, constructive experimentation.

The future lies before us as challenging as it has ever been in the centuries that lie behind us. Professional education in the new order must be responsive to the needs of the new order. By applying our intelligence to the masses of social data already collected we can perhaps help toward the creation of a new order, driven by the urge that holds us all together in spite of our differences.

NEWER TRENDS IN EDUCATION FOR FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

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Social work is demanding that its practitioners have a good educational preparation. In spite of the increase in the number employed in social-work jobs, and in spite of the wider and more complex forces which are influencing both its philosophy and its practice, the conviction is rapidly gaining ground that good will and respectable intelligence are not adequate equipment for the man or the woman who takes up the responsibility of adjusting persons to society, or of leadership in social planning for the society of tomorrow.

That is not to deny that there are serious challenges to such a program. The old sentimentalism—or, we might say, the cultural mores—dies hard. There is still plenty of faith in the competency of the kind heart, as there is also in rugged individualism. In addition to these handicaps to the realization of an efficient professionalism which come down from an ancient and honored past, there is, particularly in this country, the blatant menace of the political spoilsman who knows what he wants and how to get it. The proportions to which public social work has grown with a corresponding budget and number of public servants is a lodestone irresistibly drawing his attention to such rich possibilities for building up his political power. Nor would it be realistic to deny that both the cultural technics of mutual aid and the value of economic independence as well as the drive of political ambitions have not made inroads into a saner and a more honest administration of social work. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in spite of its sincere and able efforts to keep politics out of the administration of public relief, has only partly succeeded. No one even claims that the Works Progress Administration has been kept free, and what Congress did to the Presi-

dent's desire to have an efficient administration of the provisions of the Social Security Act is notorious.

But in spite of all these powerful forces tending to place social work in the hands of the unprepared or the political hack, the advance marked by the present Federal Administration is unprecedented. In one direction it only incidentally concerns us. It has made real progress in equalizing the availability of efficient services and resources for public social work throughout the country to an extent that would have seemed unattainable even so short a time ago as five years. More directly by the influence of the Federal directors of that Administration, local agencies have been encouraged to equip themselves with an educated personnel and the quality of the education has been defined. At the moment, it is immaterial that the standard laid down by the Federal office is that of the two professional organizations among social workers, the American Association of Social Workers and the Association of Schools. The significant thing is that there is a standard recognized by the central authority and that such money as is allocated to States is on the grant-in-aid principle. Such a standard will act as an insistent pressure upon local administrative units constantly urging them to improve the educational equipment of their personnel, even if there is no direct compulsion as in the nature of the case there cannot be.

Such a Federal standard also strongly encourages any local sentiment for better administration. Boards of private agencies more willingly release members of their staffs under such circumstances. One board expressed itself "The best service we can render the community and the nation, in this emergency, is to give our trained personnel to public welfare, so as to equip the new and greatly enlarged public service with the highest grade of leadership available." The more efficient public officials—of whom we have far more than is commonly understood, or, perhaps, than we deserve—also welcomed the chance to apply some

tests of efficiency to this new field, of which most of them knew nothing.

Perhaps another factor has influenced the personnel of social work in these last few years; unemployment itself has made available a large number of highly educated young men and women for the new positions which had somehow to be filled. Never before in this generation, at least, has it been possible to secure anything like such a number of first-class persons, persons to whom education meant something, both as a process and also in its relation to one's life work.

Under these various attractions social work has gathered a large personnel, eager to make good and well acquainted with the significance of professional status, together with a public opinion and a public policy which place a new value upon the educated social worker. Schools for social work have increased in number. Registration in all the schools has risen to an unprecedented degree. The curriculum of professional schools, from being an undefined group of courses, each school developing as its ideas and resources led, is coming into some uniformity, and the whole educational program is rapidly rising from an undergraduate to graduate status. It can, in reality, be said that education for social work has arrived.

As we attempt to interpret these new factors in education for social work, its earlier history will throw light upon our present problems and philosophy.

As Steiner pointed out, unlike other professions "education for social work never passed through the didactic stage of instruction with chief value upon theoretical studies."¹ It started out as a practice in human relations; and when its practitioners believed they had accumulated a body of method and knowledge that could be passed on to those coming into the field they imparted it

¹ Jesse F. Steiner, "Education for Social Work," *The American Journal of Sociology*, xxvi, 5, p. 607.

by the apprenticeship method. But both methods and knowledge are in the field of human relations and are the subject of psychology and of the social sciences which were simultaneously making extensive discoveries. So that in the last half of the nineteenth century and the first fifteen or twenty years of this century we have the curious situation of two considerable bodies of workers engaged in understanding and in dealing with the same material, but each pursuing its own object quite independently of the other, sometimes not knowing of the other's existence, sometimes quite indifferent to its work.

There were three events which polarized the scattered efforts of social workers to bring their accumulated knowledge and methods into some sort of orderly array. In 1915, Dr. Abraham Flexner, after a sympathetic comparison of social work with the criteria of a profession as he understood a profession, laid down the proposition that social work, while sharing many of the qualities of a profession, nevertheless could not be considered professional because it had no distinctive technic which lent itself to communication by an educational process.² Two years later, Miss Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*³ was published almost as an answer to that challenge, although Miss Richmond had been at work on it for nearly ten years. The only science which has affected social work directly, dynamic psychology, began to exert its influence during these same years, and greatly aided the profession in equipping itself with the sort of technic recommended by Dr. Flexner.

It is an interesting question as to whether social work would have developed as it has were it not for these three influences flowing together between 1915 and, say the Great War, during which social work was challenged pretty much as it is by unemployment today. Personally, I believe the influence of Dr. Flex-

² Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" *Proceedings of the National Conferences of Charities and Correction*, Chicago, 1915

³ Mary E. Richmond (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917), 511 pages

ner's pronouncement has skewed the evolution of education for social work as it has directed its attention to technic as the sole criterion of professional status—although Dr. Flexner cannot be accused of laying down any such principle. The influence of dynamic psychology with its categories and analysis of processes reinforced the drive for technics; so that by the beginning of this depression probably the professions of medicine and engineering alone placed greater emphasis upon technic, or had worked out more elaborate technics than social work.

This had some unfortunate results, as it led the schools to ignore other and equally important aspects of professional education; the sciences underlying the subject matter and technics, the long story of the efforts of man to face the same or similar problems in previous generations, and the philosophical evaluations of all the other approaches. Not a thing learned as method—or technic—is wasted or useless. No practitioner in any professional activity may honestly offer himself as equipped to serve his age who has not already mastered as much as may be learned. If he does, he may justly be accused of dishonesty and even of charlatanism. Especially in the field of social work, its subject material—the fate of human beings—is far too valuable to waste in experimentation in a method which has already been learned. Certainly we are at the beginnings only of the discovery and perfection of the methods of social work, and the schools will have to share with the practitioner the responsibility for exploration and development in this field as well as to teach what is known to those preparing themselves for social work. The trouble is not that technic has been given attention; rather is it in the unilateral dependence upon one phase of professional education, and the consequent exclusion of the scientific, historical, and philosophical disciplines which are quite as essential to professional education as mastery of method. Exclusive attention to the scientific, historical, and philosophical subjects turns out a theorist, and usu-

ally a theorist who has not given reality—which sometimes means sense—to these theories by testing them out against the hard facts of human relations. The literature of education for social work is filled with the fears that educational projects tied up with universities might turn out mere theorists. In his bequest to the New York C.O.S. Mr. Kenneday said he had considered “the possible desirability of establishing the school as a department of some university, but (had) decided it should preferably be connected with the practical charity work of the city. . . .”⁴ The same fear led most of the early projects in education for social work, even before the need for creating a new technic was fully appreciated, to be set up as independent schools—Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis as well as New York. It may not be without significance that the early projects in education for social work which started out as curricula within universities have all died—Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and others. The fate of these two sorts of educational ventures seems pretty conclusive evidence of the great importance of technic—or professional methodology—and how the very continuance of an educational project may be bound up in a close relationship between the schools and the practitioners in the field who were pioneering in the untouched field of understanding and influencing the behavior of human beings.

But technic apart from its scientific, historical, and philosophical foundations is a trade, not a profession. One may become trained so that he acquires skill in the manipulation of his material, in fact one may become expert, even in the technics of human relations, and have none of the professional spirit whatever. A trained person may know “how”; but he does not need to know “why”; it is not even necessary that he be able to explain how or relate what he is doing to its general setting. If there is a single test of the professional as contrasted with the trained

⁴ Jesse F. Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

worker, it is that he sees his particular task in relation to its scientific backgrounds and its fullest implications. He habitually relates a particular instance to general principles, and he is capable of doing this because he is disciplined in those theories that sum up both method and content in the social sciences.

Such a concept is elusive. The family of the unemployed man must be protected against its economic defenselessness, the abandoned child against its physical defenselessness, the paroled delinquent against his social defenselessness. There is not much time to spend on why, when it takes all the time at one's disposal to learn how; nor does it seem particularly pertinent to spend a lot of time poring over the dusty volumes of history or in mastering the problems of philosophy in the face of such exigent situations. And so the practitioner has taught himself in the school of experience how these essential tasks of a society of derivative contacts may best be performed; and he has insisted that his professional schools gather up all that is known of method and equip their students with a thorough mastery of these accumulated technics before they are graduated.

This is not primarily an educational program. Method is learned by doing. Training is secured by hard and continued practice. If the school attempts to meet the demand that its graduates shall be skilled social workers it must devote its entire time to supervising its pupils at practical tasks—and the early educational projects did not attempt much else. But that is to deny that social work is more than a skilled occupation—difficult and requiring a good deal of time to master, but still a task for which one needs to be trained, not educated. Often the analogy with the laboratory or the clinic is advanced as an argument for the educational possibility of teaching the technics of social work in the schools. The comparison is fallacious. The real analogy is the internship, in which the physician, already well educated, is gradually disciplined in the technic of medicine. The laboratory and the clinic are places where students learn the nature of the

material about which they are studying. They give reality to the classes and the books. Without the clinic or the laboratory that which is learned would remain lifeless data, and theories, beautifully worked out in system and order, would remain lifeless and unreal. They are essential tools of education in the scientific disciplines, without which sciences could scarcely be taught. So students in schools of social work need contact with the subject matter of their studies—people, communities, the State, social agencies, and all the rest of the myriad forms of human relationships with which they must later deal. They need to know how they act, how they respond, which methods are used and which are not, and why. They must even acquire familiarity with such problems by handling them themselves. Education for social work without field work would be sterile; but field work cannot be conceived as giving a student a finished ease in method if the school is not to abandon all its other educational responsibilities.

While social work was small and obscure, it was possible for it to concentrate on method. It was fortunate that there were these long years since the beginning of the nineteenth century during which leaders in our communities could experiment with methods in dealing with the new problems created by the emerging society of derivative contacts. Method had to come first, for the problems had to be faced and solved. When the pioneers accumulated some technics, they had to pass them on to their new and younger fellow workers. This they did, first by apprenticeship, then by apprenticeship and classes organized by the agencies, and finally the school was added. But they all were founded on the urgent need to learn a method, and to transmit the knowledge of it.

In what way does the immediate future differ from this very recent past? The first difference is magnitude, the second is that the great development of social work will be—and already is—under public auspices. Though the need for relief for the unem-

ployed may entirely disappear, the State is committed to a program of social security which will have to be administered by a well-educated body of public servants. State and local public welfare in all its varied activities will never be permitted to sink back into its niggardly and inefficient condition of the past; and the whole field of delinquency, adult quite as much as juvenile, must be socialized, administered by a highly educated and competent personnel. All this means a vast extension of services accurately included within social work.

Every particle of method that the social work of the last two or three generations has forged for our use will be needed. In addition, all signs point to the need for a more broadly conceived educational program. In a project so vast that the budgets of nations are shifted to carry the burden, administrators must be social interpreters of their generation; capable of understanding the why of the conditions they are handling, as well as of guiding the direction of social progress. It is a task unlike that of any other profession. No other assumes responsibility for analyzing social forces or for guiding them. Social engineer is sometimes used, but no word quite explains it. We can no longer be satisfied with a program any smaller than it is humanly possible to envisage. The questions are not only how much does it cost to feed the family of an unemployed man, or how may medical service best be afforded for him. They must also include such considerations as: Is it possible for the State to furnish work for the unemployed while private industry cannot use them? Is social insurance feasible? When the property tax on which local activities are financed fails, what other resources are available for the care of the dependent, and how legally may they be tapped? It's a tremendous responsibility which is now being placed on the shoulders of social work—although every social worker who has had over a decade's experience knows that it is not entirely new; that communities always expected that sort of guidance from

them. It is merely greater in extent, but so much greater as to have all the appearances of a new challenge.

I look forward to the profession of social work in its public personnel to take on some of the characteristics of English public service and education for social work to learn something from the thorough manner in which the young Englishman is educated for public service. There a young man on entering a university chooses whether he plans to go into a private profession or into public service. If the latter, he then pursues studies in those social and humanistic subjects which lay a broad cultural foundation for his life work. At the close of what is our second or third graduate year he takes a civil-service examination, and if he passes he is placed on the eligible list from which all appointments are made. He is not trained, but he is educated; and he gives a grade of service in efficiency and honesty that is the envy of the world. The English civil servant is not a professional, even when he is administering a project we consider social service, such as the poor laws. Nothing is further from his mind. He is conscious of the need for no special method.

We do not need to scrap any of that unique gift American social work has given the modern world: the careful formulation of method and the habit of mind which looks upon all social problems as soluble if the proper method can be found. But we shall probably find it necessary to undergird such a facility with a more thorough basis of those scientific and humanistic disciplines on which sound judgment regarding social questions is dependent.

If education for social work in America lives up to its opportunities, it can combine the excellencies of the two systems and graduate professionals in the broadest conception of that term, those having a thorough foundation in the appropriate sciences, histories, and philosophy, together with enough appreciation of the nature and possibilities of the special technics of social work

so they can readily and accurately master them in their first and apprenticeship years on the job.

If the schools of social work are to meet this challenge they will need, at least, a larger and a better equipped body of teachers, and they will need far more money than they have ever had or are likely to have in the near future, so far as can be seen at present.

The day—and usefulness—of the part-time teacher is past. The custom of depending upon prominent local social workers giving part of their time to schools is bad educational policy. As some one has said, they give the tired remainder of their time. Real teaching is a full-time job. There must be time for research and for publication. Students must be able to consult their instructors. Some sorts of instruction need a good deal of supervision. The teacher must have time to participate as a member of a faculty in determining the policies of the school.

The school must have outstanding persons as teachers; those who have acquired a reputation in that aspect of social work in which they teach. This means that the school as an educational institution with its fairly low scale of salaries must compete with the field of social work for its personnel; and if the desired person is a man and an executive in addition to being a leader in his field his salary is likely to be higher than most schools can afford.

The teachers must also meet the standards in preparation, in scholarship, and productive capacity set up by the educational institution with which they are affiliated. To attract the right sort of students, as well as to educate them properly, the instructors in a school of social work must compare favorably with instructors in other departments on the campus. This combination is an exceedingly difficult one. It may be possible to secure it only after a lapse of time, as the graduates of schools, having the educational qualifications before they enter the field, return to the schools as instructors after they have demonstrated their outstanding qualities as social workers.

And all of this means a good deal of money. Any educational project is very expensive. It is significant that medical education in this country came into its present preeminence and enviable excellence not only because an epoch-making study of the situation was produced which included recommendations of a radical nature, and not only because more than half the medical schools of the country were closed, thus economizing on personnel and plant, but also because the great foundations poured an unprecedented amount of money into the approved medical schools for adequate buildings, for adequate equipment, but above all for adequate teaching personnel, enabling medical schools to attract the well-equipped leaders in their field at salaries and conditions of work which could not be refused.

There is no good angel ready to render any such service for social-work education—at least not visibly. So far schools have operated literally on a shoestring. If it were not for the devotion of their backers, and the free teaching services given by the social workers, even those which have survived would have gone under. The future of social work in America, as it faces its awe-inspiring opportunities, depends just as much upon an adequate equipment of its schools as upon its own financial support. It is questionable whether a school can be established on an income of less than a hundred thousand dollars a year. And, even so, it must be in connection with a first-class university where the basic social sciences, humanities, and philosophies are taught. That sum is needed for the professional aspects of education if it is to approximate adequacy in personnel, research, publications, and equipment. The future will have to answer the question of how so much money may be secured. It will come when public opinion understands the cost of entrusting its grave social problems to inadequately equipped workers.

TRAINING FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL WELFARE

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There are two ways to break a stick. You can whittle away at it until it is severed or you can strike it one sharp, well-directed blow. Circumstances determine your choice between the two methods. Social research is so varied in all of its phases that a meticulous examination of the problems of training would soon bury the examiner under a pile of qualifications, exceptions, and reservations. And there might be very little of the stick left when it had finally been whittled through! In this discussion the bolder method will be used. A little whittling will be done on the broken edges but most of it will be left to the reader.

Training for research in social welfare should be training in making decisions effectively on the basis of information and in mobilizing information for this purpose. Every professional social worker should have some training in social research, not in specific methods but rather in the general logical processes, in the strategy of applying information to problems, and in the role of a consumer of the products of research. A good deal of this training should be developed in courses not primarily devoted to method. It should suffuse the entire training program. The same training is essential for the research worker either prior to or concurrent with his training in technique.

Research in universities and elsewhere may be conducted to determine new scientific laws, additions to our store of knowledge. Social agencies, however, exist for organized action to correct undesirable conditions, to ameliorate misery, to reconstruct communities, families, personalities. Their objectives may not be defined clearly. Their programs may be unsound. Nevertheless, they exist and gain support not to meditate but to act. Thinking may be the most important ingredient in their activity but it is a means to intelligent action, not an end in itself. Hence research

must be a means to effective activity, an essential basis for a program of work which is so executed that it actually accomplishes the purposes for which the agency was established, as amended in the light of subsequent developments. These purposes are chosen by the dominant founders and supporters of the agency to express what they expect it to do. Once purposes are formulated, *decisions* are necessary with respect to the procedure of realizing them in specific cases, under changing circumstances, and in the light of the results of previous work. This is true of case work with a fatherless family or a delinquent boy, of organizing community groups or conducting educational programs, of securing civic reforms or improving public health. If purposes are conceived vaguely, decisions may be more difficult to make but they are no less necessary if any consistent or regular course of activity is undertaken by the agency.

Implicit in every decision is a forecast of the future. Some result is expected which will further the purposes of the agency. The decision may be made by a professional staff member, an executive, or a board of directors. Unless the agency does not take its avowed purposes seriously, it should be interested to know whether past activity actually produced the results that were expected. It will also be concerned to know how reasonable its expectations of future results may be. A family may be induced to move to a new neighborhood to free one of its members from association with a gang of delinquents and to change his behavior in a more socially acceptable direction. After the move, has his behavior improved? Will it continue to improve? On the basis of several instances of this procedure, can it be regarded as effective? Sometimes these questions can be answered quite readily, often they require painstaking investigation.

Research is commonly regarded as a process of "finding the facts." But it is idle to find facts if they have no bearing on action. They may not always lead to activity, for in some instances they

may justify a conclusion that no useful activity is feasible at the time—a real decision and not just failure to act. The reason research seeks facts in social welfare is that they are essential to decisions which would be hazardous or incomplete without them. A metropolitan Y.M.C.A. considers a proposal to build a branch building in a certain neighborhood. It expects to attract several hundred members for the branch if it does so. Before deciding it undertakes to determine the size, characteristics, and trends of the population in the vicinity of the proposed building to correct its expectation or place it on a firmer basis. It would be absurd for the Y.M.C.A. to conduct population research without some special problem that required it. To say it was finding the facts on population without specifying the connection between the inquiry and the problem in which it is to be used would be almost as incomplete as to state that riding on streetcars is part of a case worker's professional duties. Research in social work consists not merely of finding facts but also of preparing them for use, digesting, analyzing, relating those facts which are relevant so that they can be employed in making decisions.

In the everyday work of the social worker many decisions are made without elaborate investigation. If a child appears to be nearsighted and is failing in his schoolwork, no research is necessary to decide to secure glasses in order to improve his rate of educational progress. If, on the other hand, there is a sharp increase in truancy in the schools with no evident explanation, it is necessary to investigate all promising clues, to search out facts that may be significant, to trace relationships. If this search is successful, it is then necessary to determine the effectiveness, cost, and feasibility of various treatment measures, and to secure as adequate a basis as time and resources permit for deciding what shall be done to control the problem. Decisions of this type do not flow from the facts automatically. They require some guessing, imagination, judgment, and inventiveness. But guessing or

wishing which is not sobered by observation is, like a shot in the dark, almost sure to miss the mark. Good executives and professional workers combine information with imagination, checking each against the other, forming tentative decisions and revising them continually in the light of further experience. This requires considerable skill. When problems are too complicated, too difficult, or too extensive to be resolved without a division of labor, research emerges as a distinct set of activities and is less tightly interwoven with the other phases of making decisions. Hence a degree of separation and freedom is necessary but the connection must be maintained in some degree or reestablished periodically if the research activities are to fulfill their function in the division of labor in social work.

It is somewhat beside the point here to consider how much initiative the research worker must take in connecting research with the current activities of social agencies. It is the writer's opinion that at the present time research workers should meet executives at least halfway in applying research. They should not stand ready (and inert) like a dictionary waiting for the executive to consult them if it occurs to him to do so. However, this is a problem of organization and allocation of functions. Local circumstances will determine the optimum arrangement. The preceding discussion applies to the professional worker and the executive quite as much as the researcher and it is not greatly affected by their specific cleavage of functions. Even when a social worker or agency director is conducting a study for his own use, he still must face the importance and difficulty of developing it as a basis for decision and action rather than an interesting exercise or an expression of mere curiosity.

Training for research should not be limited to students who expect to become research experts. It should be extended to reach the future executives, supervisors, and professional social workers who will be consumers of research products rather than pro-

ducers. They need to know how to appraise the product of research, how to formulate their needs for assistance from research, how to use research efficiently. They especially need to be able to recognize opportunities to employ research in connection with their problems. Ideally they should be well trained to conduct small-scale research projects without specialized technical assistance. Effective team play requires that they understand, at least in a general way, the methods and approach of research workers who in turn should understand the problems and point of view of administrator and practitioner.

In any program of training there will be one or more courses in research technique. These courses are very important, for a research worker must master fundamental operations so that they become "second nature" and enable him to collect and summarize information quickly and efficiently. There is a temptation, however, to introduce too many variations in technique to the confusion and frightening of the student. It is enough to let him know that these devices exist and that he can learn them when and if he ever needs them. Problems of presenting information concisely and interpreting its significance are usually more important than technical analysis as such, yet they are most likely to be omitted from courses in research. Adequate textbooks on phases of research other than technique in the narrower sense of the term have not been written. Perhaps Fry's *Technique of Social Investigation* is closer to what is needed than any other.

A textbook is a misfortune if the instructor leans on it too heavily. The traditional course in chemistry starts with an experiment on the distinction between compounds and mixtures. Iron filings are mixed with sulphur, tested, then ignited, and tested again. Every student knows before the experiment that they form a mixture, then a compound. The experiment is good training for his memory. One chemistry teacher changed the experiment by using mercury instead of iron filings, thereby presenting

to his students a real problem in solving which they were compelled to think through the various aspects of the experiment. If they relied on the analogous experiment in the textbook their conclusions were wrong. Social research should be taught in the same way, by means of real problems, with emphasis on how to go about solving a new problem rather than an imitation and crude analogy. Detective stories, properly used, might be better material for instruction than directions for making a map of juvenile delinquency or computing a correlation between crime and rent levels.

Critical scrutiny of both data and inferences is one of the prime essentials in research. Students should learn to ask: "What biases have affected the data?" "Do these conclusions actually follow from the evidence and are they strongly supported by it?" "What other conclusions are reasonable?" "How can they be tested further?" "What difference does it make in terms of the action to be taken if one conclusion is accepted instead of another?"

At the same time a research worker must learn to utilize even very incomplete data without discarding it needlessly. He must recognize the imperative necessity of making some decision and making it promptly. He must be willing to forgo scientific standards of caution in order to make the most reliable decision possible under the circumstances. Both he and the executive must be ready to make tentative conclusions, to proceed experimentally observing the results of the action which is taken, and to modify them from time to time in the light of a careful checking of the results. Some of these situations may be introduced in classroom work, particularly if instructors establish coöperative relations with social agencies and choose the problems judiciously. A well-directed critical analysis of selected research reports is also a profitable approach to social-welfare research.

The last few chips to be whittled relate to some work that

needs to be done before research training can be organized as it should be. We need an accurate job analysis of the principal types of research positions. We need explicit formulations of the role of research in social work and the way in which its functions are related in concrete instances to the administration of social agencies and the practice of professional social work. We need information (which, however, each instructor can gain for himself) on the abilities and information that students bring to the research courses. Well-written descriptions of typical research projects emphasizing the points with which most of the preceding discussion has been concerned are greatly needed. We also need to develop a better understanding of research throughout social work so that it may be related to professional and executive activity in an increasingly effective manner.

SOCIAL WORK AND EDUCATION

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I Parallel developments with possible interrelationships have been taking place in the fields of education and social work. It seems probable that these have come about through influences from the various schools of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and philosophy. As a result certain innovations have taken place in methodology and approach both in social work and education. In a cause-effect account of educational history every phenomenon is seen as a response to human needs. This is true also of all other social institutions, attitudes, and habit patterns, whether they are meeting that need adequately or not. An effort is being made to understand and apply this principle in formulating present-day educational and social-work programs.

Recognition of the worth of the individual and the understanding of his unique needs has come about in both education and social work. Caroline Zachry says, "Education implies and encompasses the general adjustment of the individual and his environment." An ideal included in modern educational and social-work programs is "to every child according to his individual capacities and his particular physical and mental needs."¹

II. The goals of education and social work are in accord fundamentally. In practice there is a tendency to see a problem as educational, hygienic, social, or individual. This indicates the lack of an integrated point of view, inadequate diagnosis of causal factors and their interrelationships, and poor evaluation of the possible treatment approaches. Integration of thinking and practice is needed within the special categories set up by social institutions which have developed in the attempt to meet

¹ Caroline B Zachry, "Mental Hygiene of the Classroom," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, April 1933, pp. 128-146

human needs. Goals and practices become separated within specializations. The educator and the social worker do not always understand each other. In our complex society they often work separately to achieve the same goals. Rivalry and competition are not unknown, criticism, differences, resentment, defenses exist on both sides. Striving for leadership and recognition in both groups has sometimes blinded one to the contribution of the other. Both are perhaps closer together now than ever before. This is being achieved through the broader vision of intelligent leaders and through increased understanding between individual teachers and social workers in their common interest—the welfare of the child, through various forms of social organization, and in joint educational conferences. There is great need for far more of this kind of understanding and working together.

III. Recognition of the rights and needs of the child has come late in the history of social institutions. In the past discipline was enforced in family life and in our social institutions through a system of compelling external obedience through unmitigated force. Methods of repression, restriction, order, conformity, competition, and punishment were commonly accepted as necessary to individual control by the social group. Some of the effects of these methods on personality growth, the anguish and suffering caused are glimpsed in the literature through reminiscences shown in biography and autobiography.²

Controls are a necessary part of social development; unlicensed freedom is destructive. The question arises how to develop control most effectively, permitting satisfaction and growth at the same time. It is my opinion that the most permanent and effective controls come from within. Conformity to social standards motivated from within is an evidence of personality growth, whereas if imposed by external force it creates

² Clara Bassett, *Mental Hygiene in the Community* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), 394 pages

revolt or submission—both of which are unhealthy. Social attitudes toward behavior have a powerful influence and a lasting effect on the child's inner life, reflected by his social behavior. They are initiated early in the child's experiences beginning with the effect of parental attitudes on behavior reactions. Absence of such control or faulty application through example and influence of the parent may bring about an absence of these patterns in later life. It matters not whether we think of these reactions as conditioned behavior responses, early habit pattern formation, or strong "super-ego" influences on the emotional development of the child. Without the establishment of effective social control through early parent-child relationships the individual finds it difficult to make a satisfactory adjustment to society in adult life. However, when such controls are superimposed by extreme methods they lose their force, and behavior is motivated on the basis of fear or revenge, which makes constant and continuous use of this method of control necessary and at the same time ineffective and destructive. This occurs with the delinquent child and later the delinquent adult, who exhibits antisocial behavior. When strong, effective controls from within are lacking the child fails to develop capacities for a satisfactory social adjustment.

Social workers and educators should recognize their function in helping to establish these controls in meeting the needs of the individual child. The longer this process is postponed in a person's life, the more difficult it is to establish these controls. When we fail as parents, teachers, and social workers, society pays the penalty of destructive behavior of the individual later on. Social workers and educators are seeking methods of establishing or helping the person to develop such controls for himself.

H. A. Overstreet says: "Education presents itself more profoundly as a process of training the emotional life—of socializing the personal desires—eliminating baseless and degrading fears—widening affections; building up resistance against un-

reasonable herd-pressure local prejudice, developing a hospitality to scientific thinking."⁸

How can social workers and teachers in their respective fields help to bring this about? Fundamental individual needs may be classified under three general headings: the need for security, for affection, and creative activity.

One of the most effective ways of building up security is by eliminating *feelings of difference*. The destructive effects of comparative emphasis on differences have been seen too often in families where the superiority of one child is held up again and again as a challenge to another who is failing. The classroom teacher frequently uses as a spur to Johnnie the superior achievement of William to the benefit of neither. In adult life the marked emphasis placed on a superior work record of a fellow worker is expected to challenge the person to greater achievement, which seldom if ever follows. If a person is unable to measure up to the successes of his fellowmen, he is quite likely to sink into a state of despondency, self-abasement, resentment, failure, and possibly antisocial activities.

How can "feelings of difference" common to all in varying degrees be lessened or rendered less destructive to personality growth? The constructive effects of emphasis on success, praise for achievement, appreciation of small contributions, and finally recognition for worth-while contributions of the individual to the social order are known to the successful parent using so-called "common-sense" methods, to teachers who motivate the child to a learning attitude, and to social workers whose relationships with people result in their growing ability to face and solve difficulties. These tools must be used with discretion and understanding of results.

The opposite method of calling attention to failure, constant criticism, and derision may in some instances challenge the indi-

⁸ Clara Bassett, *op cit.*, p. 199

vidual but more often threatens him and hampers his development.

A red-headed freckled boy of twelve with prominent teeth and a slouchy posture was repeating sixth grade. His pretty little sister of ten years would soon catch up with him. Schoolwork was easy for her. Teachers and principal despaired of him. He seemed lazy, indifferent, liked to show off, and chose undesirable companions. His schoolwork was going backward rather than forward. The parents received frequent notices of his failure from his teachers. Father scolded and was disappointed, mother was sympathetic and oversolicitous, and sister made fun of him. After consultations and careful diagnostic study of the boy by a child-guidance clinic the teacher worked out a new program, temporarily lowering standards for requirements, giving him assignments on which he could succeed, and gradually increasing them in accordance with his progress. He was given a leading role in a dramatic performance in which he had long craved to have a part but was considered too slow. Attention, praise, and recognition of effort and achievement were stressed. Notes of failures were discontinued. His parents joined in the program of encouragement and arranged for him to join in neighborhood recreation and sports activities. The contrast in this boy's growth and development astonished teachers and parents. This is a simple illustration of accomplishment resulting from a constructive approach to what appeared a hopeless situation.

Craving for affection is also fundamental to well-rounded development and, when affection is denied, disastrous and devastating effects follow. Read the life stories of our youthful criminals for evidence (Clifford Shaw, *The Boy's Own Story*, *Jack Roller*; Ira Wile, *Two-Gun Crowley*). In the satisfaction of this craving for affection a balance between deprivation and indulgence is essential. Overindulgence and spoiling is not real affection but a sign of rejection and has the same destructive effect as

deprivation. Rejection often goes unrecognized except in extreme cases where actual neglect and abuse call for legal action. More acute understanding and recognition of emotional needs and how to meet them is essential. The child or adult who feels secure in knowing he is accepted, loved, and understood by his family, his teachers, and his associates in spite of deprivations in other respects is most likely to grow and develop adequately.

Finally, we may have confidence based on recognition, security in being loved and accepted but, for ultimate satisfaction, these will not be permanent or growth-continuous without opportunity for creative outlets or activities in the social group or for social benefits.

A self-centered girl much loved by her parents and relatives, given every material advantage, admired by her teachers and friends, making high grades throughout high school and college, popular in her own social set, entered a school of social work anticipating a brilliant career. In this new setting she found herself confused and at a loss. Until she was able to orient herself, think independently about life situations which were completely unfamiliar, and develop a capacity to make her own contribution, she had a most difficult time. Life offers countless opportunities for such creative living. When they are passed over the person sinks to a dead level or carries on a meaningless program of activities escaping social responsibility.

IV. In the social processes which contribute to individual growth and development is there a common meeting ground of social case work and education? There are areas in educational and social-work programs where overlapping is valuable in the development and use of resources. This has been true in the field of physical and mental health and social work. The medical, psychiatric, and nursing professions, educators, and social workers have united forces in developing health programs in the community. There is still great need of further unification of effort to achieve their objectives more adequately.

The use of psychological testing services by social workers and educators has created an area where collaboration is valuable in the interpretation of psychological findings and the development of skills in understanding their application to the growth and adjustment of the individual.

In the preschool and nursery-school programs, in the enforcement of compulsory education, in vocational guidance and parent-education programs, we are beginning to work together. The vistas for further development are still broad. What has been accomplished by joint working serves as an example of the results to be obtained.

A laboratory example of the value of working together as educators and social workers is demonstrated by the visiting-teacher services, child-guidance clinics, and vocational counseling. The special contribution of social case work to the educational field is illustrated by these services. Such services of social workers have enabled "the school to reach out into the home and neighborhood, to study the family background and home relationships, to cooperate with other social agencies in securing medical, social, and recreational treatment needed, and to plan an educational and vocational program which is based on a comprehensive knowledge of the whole child and his needs."⁴ The visiting teacher assists the school in cultivating a closer relationship between the home and school, and community institutions and agencies, thus serving the child in utilizing resources which are beneficial to his continued growth. Preventive and constructive work is made possible early in the child's experience if his difficulties are recognized and understood.

A large percentage of the child's life is spent under conditions and influences which are comparatively unknown to the school. Within the school are great opportunities for the child's adjustment to life. There are frequent exceptional situations demand-

⁴ Clara Bassett, *op cit*, p. 233

ing a further knowledge of the whole child, and treatment which the average teacher cannot carry out alone. Such situations can be treated jointly through relationships between teacher and child, teacher and parents, social worker and child, social workers and parents, and social worker and teacher, providing skills in treatment of human relationships have been highly developed on the part of social worker and teacher. The social worker through her training and experience in specialized children's or psychiatric clinics working with children, and in her studies of family relationships with actual experience in the treatment of these relationships, has a special skill to offer which it is impossible to encompass in any teacher-training program. We need to understand each other's fields and specialized skills but it is difficult to conceive of the person so qualified by experience and training to serve in either or both specializations. It appears that such a mixed training program would be confusing and handicapping. Therefore, it is necessary that we work together, combine our skills, pool our findings, evaluate our approaches, and concert our efforts toward a program of serving the needs of those individuals who cannot make their social adjustment alone, and who unless helped will ultimately be a burden on society.

V. In summarizing the contribution of social case work to the education of the child it is difficult to isolate factors, since in the educational field and in the field of group work there are many functions in common. Perhaps the difference lies chiefly in the approach. When social workers began to recognize the need for individualization of the various members of the family they became more consciously aware of the child as an individual. Heretofore child-welfare programs had been centered on the building of institutions for dependent, delinquent, and defective children, many of no known origin, with no life history, and with limited or inadequate parental influence. Social-reform movements concentrated on setting up legal machinery

for dealing with special problems of the dependent, delinquent, and defective child though institutional and commitment programs, still necessary in particular conditions where protection, correction, and training is our only solution. Limitations and heavy costs of these programs were soon realized. Emphasis on more preventive work which begins with an understanding of the individual child and carries over to the individual approach with the adult and the understanding of family relationships has developed. Such a preventive program is still experimental and does not yet eliminate the necessity of salvaging the losses through other kinds of treatment.

The study of the individual child as a whole includes the physical, psychological, social, and emotional factors of his total cumulative life experience including a knowledge of family relationships and environmental influences. This type of study may not be essential or practicable for every child, although we should be aware that all of these factors are operative and related to his growth and development. In particular instances where causation is obscure and behavior symptoms assume serious proportions, such studies made early are necessary to a full understanding and effective treatment of individual needs. The social case worker has a contribution to make in sharing with doctors, psychologists, and educators her specialized experience in study and treatment of these factors. She works through the medium of environmental manipulation, interpretation of causal factors, and in modification of attitudes through her direct relationship with the child, her understanding of the parent, and her participation with parents, teachers, and others in working out a socially useful and individually satisfying program to meet human needs.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF RELIEF FAMILIES IN NORTHWEST MISSOURI

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The statement often is made that a large number of the families who are on the relief rolls are not really in need and that a great deal of relief work, therefore, is being done for families who really do not need it. In order to test out the validity of such assertions the writer made an intensive study of one hundred relief families in Maryville, Missouri, in the spring of 1934. Maryville is a city of about five thousand people in Northwest Missouri. It is located in Nodaway County which a few years ago was considered one of the best agricultural counties in Missouri.¹

A schedule was prepared and one hundred relief families were visited in their own homes and interviewed.² Of the families interviewed 72 per cent were married; 15 per cent were widows; 6 per cent were separated (5 women and 1 man interviewed); 4 per cent widows; 2 per cent divorced (2 women interviewed); and 1 per cent single with the mother living with the son. In other words in 27 per cent of the families the home had been broken by death, divorce, separation, or desertion. In 22 per cent of the families there was no husband, as in 15 per cent of the cases the husband was dead and in 7 per cent the husband was separated, divorced, or had deserted. In 12 per cent of the families the husband was disabled and in 4 per cent of the families there was no adult female.

Of the entire one hundred families only 12 per cent were receiving aid from the Maryville Welfare Board previous to 1929.

¹ This paper was prepared for the sociology section of the Missouri Academy of Science meeting held at Columbia, Missouri, December 6-8, 1934.

² The interviews were made by Ellwood Huff, a sociology student at the Northwest Missouri State Teachers College.

At the time the investigation was made 78 per cent of the families were receiving direct material aid while 22 per cent were receiving work relief from the Government. Eighty-four per cent of the families have received direct relief from the Maryville Welfare Board or from the Federal Government at some time in the past. Of this number 2 per cent have received aid for the past ten years, while 50 per cent have received aid only during the past year. Twelve per cent have received aid for two years and 7 per cent for five years.

Fifty-two per cent of the families have lived in Maryville over ten years, while 9 per cent have lived here less than one year. Thirty-two per cent have lived in Maryville all their life. Thirty per cent own their own homes, 69 per cent rent, and one lives in a house that is donated. Two per cent pay two dollars a month rent, while 1 per cent pays fifteen dollars a month. The median rent paid is six dollars. Thirty-eight per cent have lived in their present home for less than a year while 12 per cent have lived there over ten years. The median length of time lived in their present home is two years.

The total number of members in the one hundred families is 448. Of this number, 219 are adults. Five per cent have only one member in the family, while a like number has nine members. The median number in the family is four, which means only two children. This is contrary to the usual condition as it is a common knowledge that large families and poverty go together. This was true in Maryville a few years ago, but at the present time, because of the lack of employment, families with a small number of children have been forced to secure relief while a few years ago they were able to secure enough employment to support themselves.

Twenty-eight per cent of the families have no children while 1 per cent has eight children. The median number of children is two. The median age of the boys is eight years, while the median

age for the boys of school age is eleven years. The median age of all the girls is ten years, while the median age of the girls of school age is eleven years. The median grade of the boys is the fourth grade and for the girls it is the fifth grade. This seems to indicate that the boys are retarded one year while the girls are in their normal grade in school.

Fifty-six per cent of these families have had no steady employment since 1929, another 8 per cent have had no steady work since 1930; another 8 per cent have been out of steady work since 1931; 20 per cent since 1932; and only 8 per cent have been unemployed since 1933. In 66 per cent of the cases the husband is a common laborer and in 12 per cent he is skilled in some line of work. In the other 22 per cent of the families the husband is missing. In 7 per cent of the families the wife works and in 17 per cent the children are working.

The median grade reached in school was the eighth grade for both husband and wife. Three per cent of the wives and 2 per cent of the husbands have no schooling at all, while 2 per cent of the wives and 5 per cent of the men are high-school graduates. One of the men is a college graduate and is an ordained minister. Two of the wives have taught in the rural schools.

All the houses were frame buildings. The median number of rooms is four. However, four per cent have only one room while five have seven rooms. The median number of sleeping rooms is two and the median number of persons sleeping in each room is two, although in three cases nine sleep in one room and in ten cases five sleep in a room. In 18 per cent of the families there are five or more people sleeping in one room. In 72 per cent of the homes there are no clothes closets.

In 16 per cent of the homes there are no rugs or carpets on the floors. In nearly every home that was papered the wallpaper was old and worn. Ninety-six per cent of the homes have window shades, 75 per cent have curtains, and only 4 per cent have drapes.

Only 28 per cent of the homes have electric lights, while 72 per cent use kerosene lamps. A survey made recently on a nationwide scale shows that 90 per cent of the city families of our country have electric lights.⁸ In Birmingham 66.4 per cent of the dwellings have electric lights, in Baton Rouge, 69.9; and in Paducah, Kentucky, 68.8.

Thirty-four relief families in Maryville have no sewing machines while 65 have foot-power machines and one has an electric sewing machine.

The median number of rocking chairs is two to a family and the median number of straight chairs is five. One family of nine had only three straight chairs and eight families had no rocking chairs. Only 16 have book cases and 46 have library tables.

Sixty-one families have no musical instruments of any kind. Two have pianos, five have phonographs, four have organs, sixteen radios, five brass or reed instruments, two have a piano and radio, one has a piano and brass instrument, and four have a phonograph and radio. Ninety-one per cent have no sheet music of any description in their homes. This seems to indicate that there is a decided lack of musical appreciation in the homes of the relief families, and it suggests that here is a big field open for adult education along the line of music.

The artistic equipment of the home from the standpoint of pictures leaves much to be desired, as there are 25 per cent of the families with no pictures in the home and 18 per cent have only one picture on the wall. The median number of pictures is two. Sixty-three per cent of the families have no large photographs and 69 per cent have no small photographs.

Much has been said about relief families spending money on gasoline for use in automobiles, but our study does not bear out

⁸ This survey was made by Federal Government investigators and is published under the title "The Real Property Inventory of 1934." It may be secured from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

this popular belief, for we found that 93 per cent of the families have no motor cars and that the 7 per cent that do have cars have ones of pretty old vintage. Five have model "T" Fords, one has a 1925 model Hupmobile, and one has an old Buick. Of the eight that have trucks, five have old model "T" Ford trucks, one has a Dodge truck, one has a General Motors car, and one has a Buick—all old and decrepit. Nearly all these cars and trucks are owned by people who are on work relief and not on direct relief.

The nation-wide investigation referred to above shows that 50 per cent of the families in cities have motor cars. However, in Birmingham only 30.7 per cent have motor cars; Indianapolis, 53.3 per cent; Nashua, N. H., 39.9 per cent; Waterbury, Conn., 36.4 per cent; Wheeling, 38.8 per cent; Cleveland, 56 per cent.

The cultural life of the relief families as shown by books and periodicals they own is not such as to add to the prestige of our fair city as a city of "culture and refinement." It is found that 18 per cent have no books at all, not even a Bible or hymn book; 45 per cent have from one to five books, and only 2 per cent have as many as forty books. Ninety-four per cent of the families have no books on poetry, 69 have no volumes of fiction, 86 have no history books, 98 have no works of drama, 89 no encyclopedias, while 75 have religious books. Only 4 per cent of the books are new. Most of the books, however, are in fair condition.

Sixty-five families have no daily or weekly newspapers. Fourteen take a metropolitan daily paper, seventeen take the local daily paper, *The Maryville Forum*, while four take both the metropolitan and the local paper. The metropolitan papers taken are the following: *Kansas City Star*, 13; *St. Joseph News Press*, 3; *Chicago Tribune*, 1; *Omaha Bee News*, 1. Eighty-four families subscribe for no magazines. The sixteen families that receive magazines get twenty-five distributed as follows: *Time*, 1, *Woman's World*, 3; *Household*, 3, *Cappers's Weekly*, 1; *Red*

Book, 1; *American*, 1; *Pathfinder*, 2; *McCall's*, 1; *Word and Way*, 1; *Comfort*, 4; *Farmer's Wife*, 1; *Pictorial Review*, 2; *Good Stories*, 1; *Woman's Home Companion*, 1; and *Successful Farmer*, 2.

The kitchen equipment of most of the families is very inadequate. In many cases lard buckets are used in place of kettles and stew pans. Eighty-seven families have no double boilers and fifty-three have no roasting pans. Seventy-one families use a wood or coal stove for cooking, while twenty-nine use oil stoves.

Ninety-three families have no telephone in their home. Seventy have no washing machine, 12 have hand-power washing machines, 17 have electric machines, and one has a gasoline washing machine. One family has no iron, 79 have stove irons, and 20 have electric irons.

Only 13 per cent of the homes have bath tubs as compared with 74 for the cities over the whole country. In Charleston, S. C., 43.6 per cent of the dwellings have bath tubs; Paducah, Kentucky, 48.3; Wheeling, 51; Sacramento, 84.9, Cleveland, 90.8; Birmingham, 47.5; Indianapolis, 63.9; Knoxville, 51.1.

Ten per cent of the relief families have lavatories and 21 per cent have sinks. Seventeen per cent have indoor toilets as compared with 82 per cent for the whole country. Proper bathroom facilities were found in 73.7 per cent of the dwellings in Atlanta; 97.9 per cent in Burlington, Vt.; 51.1 per cent in Charleston, S. C., 95.5 per cent in Cleveland, 53 per cent in Frederick, Md.; 61.5 per cent in Jackson, Miss., 70 per cent in Oklahoma City, 55.6 per cent in Paducah, Kentucky, 67.5 per cent in Topeka.

Thirty relief families use city water while seventy use well water.

In 29 families the garbage is disposed of by just throwing it out the back door; in 35 cases it is fed to the chickens; 22 families feed it to the hogs; 5 haul it away, 8 burn it, and one buries it.

Various kinds of animals are kept which help with the food supply and shows that the families are trying to help themselves. Eighteen families have one hog each, three families have two hogs each, and one family has three hogs. Four families have one cow each, two families have two cows each, and one has three cows. Two families have two horses each and one has three horses. Two families have one goat each and one has three goats. Twenty-five families are raising chickens. The flocks range from five to thirty. The median is twelve.

Although this community is located in a dairy center, 50 per cent of the relief families do not use any milk. Thirty-one per cent use one quart of milk a day, six use two quarts, two use three quarts, eight use four quarts, and three use eight quarts a day. The families that use a great deal of milk are those that own their own cows.

A community garden has been operated during the past two years by relief families under the direction of the Maryville Welfare Board. In addition to this, every relief family that had a garden plot available planted a garden. Of the one hundred families investigated, 91 have gardens.

Recently the writer attended a State Welfare meeting where considerable discussion took place over the question as to whether or not relief families should be allowed to keep dogs. One speaker stressed the "spiritual value" of dogs and the consensus of opinion of the delegates seemed to be that this factor was of enough importance to warrant relief families keeping their dogs. Among the relief families in Maryville that the writer investigated 36 per cent owned dogs and 21 per cent owned cats.

The National Recreation Association⁴ made a survey recently in regard to the leisure-time activities of 5,000 people, 80 per cent of whom were 21 years of age or older. Of these fewer than

⁴ "Leisure Hours of Five Thousand People," published by National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

half were employed gainfully except on part time. The greater number reported that they had used their free time to increase their reading. Newspaper readers led the list. One person in four reported reading more newspapers and magazines than during the previous year. Reading, listening to the radio, attending movies, visiting, and entertaining were most frequently mentioned.

The study of the relief families in Maryville shows that 30 per cent of the adults do no reading at all, while 39 per cent read less than five hours a week, 30 per cent read from six to ten hours a week, and only one per cent spends fifteen hours a week in reading. As far as listening to the radio is concerned, our investigation shows that 88 per cent of the families spend no time at all listening to the radio, 5 per cent spend an average of five hours a week, while 7 per cent spend from six to ten hours a week listening to the radio. Attendance at movies is practically negligible. Eighty-six per cent do not spend any time playing cards, while 14 per cent spend five hours a week or less at this pastime.

Seventeen per cent of the families do not spend any time in visiting their neighbors and friends, 68 per cent spend from one to five hours a week in visiting; and 15 per cent spend from six to ten hours a week in visiting. Ninety-six per cent do not belong to any social clubs.

This investigation shows a great need for some form of organized leisure-time activities for both adults and children, as it seems there is no provision made at all by any organization for an organized program of recreation for the adults, while a very small percentage of the children are reached by organized play groups. Only 15 per cent of the boys are reached by the Boy Scouts and Pathfinders, while only 9 per cent of the girls are touched by the Girl Scouts. Only 10 per cent are reached by school clubs. Only 4 per cent of the families belong to social clubs, while 43 per cent spend some time at the community cen-

ter each week. This leaves 57 per cent that do not even come in contact with the activities of the community center which is located in their very midst.

Sixteen per cent of the families have no church members while in 27 per cent of the families every member holds a church membership. Forty-two families belong to the Baptist Church. The other churches represented include the North Methodist, the South Methodist, Catholic, Christian, Church of God, Adventist, and Presbyterian. Fifty-eight families attend church quite regularly.

As chairman of the Maryville Welfare Board the writer desires to say a word in regard to the attitude of the relief families toward work. It is often stated by unthinking people that most of the folks who are on the relief rolls are shiftless, lazy, good-for-nothing loafers. Our experience with families on relief leads us to state emphatically that this statement is not true. During the two years that we have had a part in supervising the community garden we have not had the slightest difficulty in securing men and women from relief families to assist with the work. Last winter when the local CWA supervisor had to lay off some of the workers because of lack of funds, it nearly caused a riot among the relief workers because they all wanted to continue working. This fall when a contractor in our community issued a call for eight common laborers, two hundred men appeared and clamored for an opportunity to work. So we cannot say too strongly that the reason these families are on relief is not because they do not want to work, but it is because in this land of plenty they are not given an opportunity to earn a decent living.

In conclusion it can be stated in summarizing this investigation that 88 per cent of the families that received aid in 1934 were not on the relief rolls previous to 1929; that 30 per cent own their own homes and that the median rent paid by those who rent homes is six dollars a month; the median number of children in

the families is two; 56 per cent of the families have had no steady employment since 1929; the median grade reached in school by both husband and wife is the eighth grade; only 28 per cent of the homes have electric lights; 61 per cent have no musical instruments; 7 per cent have old motor cars and 8 per cent have trucks; 7 per cent have telephones, 30 per cent have washing machines; 13 per cent have bath tubs; 17 per cent have indoor toilets, 30 per cent use city water; 50 per cent of the families do not use any milk, there is a great need for organized leisure-time activities among both adults and children; and, finally, the writer is convinced that relief families are willing to work if given an opportunity.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

NEW YORK STATE STUDY OF EDUCATION

A comprehensive investigation of public education in New York State is being undertaken under the auspices of the State Board of Regents by a special committee headed by Owen D. Young. The study is made possible by a grant of \$500,000 from the General Education Board, a Rockefeller institution. Serving on the committee with Mr. Young are William J. Wallin of Yonkers and John Lord O'Brian of Buffalo. Active direction of the study has been assumed by Dr. Luther H. Gulick, head of the Institute for Public Administration in New York City, with Dr. Samuel P. Capen, chancellor of the University of Buffalo, as his associate.

The investigation will be carried on under eight general divisions as follows.

1. The financial problems of the system, including the examination of the present school-district organization
2. Elementary education, with a view to revaluation of the curriculum and of the auxiliary services, including those for handicapped children, provided through the elementary schools
3. All types of education on the secondary level, whether general or vocational or designed for special groups of students, whether furnished by schools or other agencies, with a view to evaluating the appropriateness and adequacy of these provisions
4. The demands and provisions for adult education and higher education at public expense
5. The selection, training, quality and standards of compensation of the teaching personnel, with a view to determining the future roles of teacher-training institutions
6. Federal aid to reveal the influence of existing Federal subsidies and regulations on the range and character of special types of education and to determine the policy which the State should follow with respect to seeking or accepting Federal appropriations

7 The State Education Department, with a view to determining the effectiveness of its organization and the desirable scope of its functions

8 Revision of the education law

The investigation is an intensive study of every phase of education with an equivalent emphasis upon the character and the cost of education. It is not concerning itself with parochial and private schools. The study will begin with a survey of school surveys, more than a hundred major ones of which have been made since 1918. All groups having an interest in the public-school system will be given an opportunity to express themselves. Experts will be employed by the committee to work on different phases of the study, which will take approximately two years. Each major phase of the study will be headed by a man of outstanding reputation in his particular field.

The four principal members of the staff of the study have been chosen as follows in conformity with the policy of the inquiry in selecting experts living outside of New York State to secure objectivity: Dr. Charles H. Judd, head of the departments of education and psychology in the University of Chicago; Dr. Edward Charles Elliott, president of Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.; Dr. Albert B. Meredith, director of the department of school administration, New York University; and Dr. Francis T. Spaulding of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

STUDY OF THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO COLLEGE

This study represents an attempt to observe and analyze the experience of a large group of students as they pass through the transition from school to college.¹ It is concerned with the changing social relations and skills of the individual, recognizing that maladjustments involving ideals, attitudes, appreciations, interests, and values often lie behind the surface manifestations of academic failure, or the failure of the individual to realize his potential capacities.

A preliminary study in 1932 and 1933 provided the opportunity to develop a technique and pointed to a number of behavior patterns, growing out of previous experiences, as the basis of successful transition. The present study has enlisted the cooperation of 39 colleges and 103 secondary schools located in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Penn-

¹ Statement prepared by Lincoln B. Hale, Field Representative, through courtesy of Hugh Hartshorne, Department of Research, Yale University Divinity School

sylvania. Its distinguishing feature is the study and observation of student experience over a time span; namely, the last months of secondary school through freshman year in college.

An original group of 3,162 students furnished the requested information in their secondary-school setting last spring (1934). Over fifteen hundred are freshmen in colleges this year where the study techniques can be administered. The students themselves are revealing through questionnaires their reactions to the various aspects of the experience through which they are passing. This is supplemented by additional information from the schools and colleges. In addition to this material secured for all the study group, a group of 150, picked at random from the large sampling, are being studied by a "case-study" technique. Personal interviews with significant persons in both the precollege and college areas of the student's experience supplement personal interviews with the students and the written record which he has given in common with the entire 1,500.

The study is being conducted under the auspices of the Research Department of the Yale Divinity School in coöperation with the Connecticut Survey Committee on Transition from School to College, the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University, the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, the Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation, and the Student Committee of the Connecticut State Y.M.C.A.

WORKSHOP RULES FOR RESEARCH¹

Dr. W. F. Ogburn addressed the Society for Social Research at the University of Chicago recently on the subject "Workshop Rules for Research." In choosing a topic for research, the essential criterion is some certainty of conclusive result. It must lead to something definitive, with a final and positive form guaranteed by its accuracy.

Sharp differentiation should be made between the scientific procedure and the "intellectualistic." Science deals with facts. "Intellectual gymnastics" are to be avoided. For example, such operations as the definition of concepts, the so-called "pioneering work," and much of analysis, while doubtless helpful to research, are still not science.

If one were to list certain rules which the student should bear in mind

¹ *Bulletin*, The Society for Social Research, December 1934, page 3. These workshop rules for research are reprinted here by permission. They are presented because of their value to graduate students working on thesis problems and to research workers in general.

when choosing and prosecuting any piece of research, they would include such admonitions as:

1. Avoid starting with systems. Organization will come in time, but gradually. It must follow, not precede, research.
2. The subject chosen need not be highly significant or important. The significant fact is that the student learns to do something scientifically, that is, accurately, precisely, conclusively.
3. The first question to raise is, "Can it be done?" Many serious mistakes are made by tackling too large a task. The object of student research is not to influence the world, nor to gain a reputation, but to secure training in research technique.
4. Interest in the subject is insufficient motive for choosing it.
5. Get in a field where something is "popping." Locate the study in a "spot of activity."
6. Remember that general description is poor research. It may be either forced by reason of insufficient data, or highly selective if data are extensive.
7. Avoid emotionalism.
8. Become thoroughly familiar with the subject.
9. Note that, while facts are essential to research, mere "fact finding" is insufficient. Facts must be marshaled, related.
10. Build up a habit of (a) doing research, and (b) publishing. Produce. Avoid stagnation by reason of a "compulsion neurosis for thinking."
11. Record research in a simple, straightforward manner. Avoid such nonessentials, as, for example, references to the Greeks, and exhortations to save humanity.
12. Keep an eye open for by-products.

In the subsequent discussion, it was pointed out that the reaction against the sterility of speculative preoccupation which is indicated by the above suggestions, while doubtless a wholesome change in emphasis, must yet face seriously the vital necessity of defining a central problem in terms of which research may be mobilized, guided, and integrated, if a science of sociology is ever to emerge.

BOOK REVIEWS

Man, The Unknown, by ALEXIS CARREL. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, 346 pages.

The nature of man as an organism is fundamental to our social problems and our attempts at their solution. But the extraordinary strides science recently has made toward the understanding of man have so dazzled us that too many of us forget how far short we still are of a workable knowledge of man's nature. It is a sobering, humbling experience to follow, in this book, the thinking of one of our most distinguished American scientists to the conclusion that man is still "the unknown." A reading of this volume will make us wary of biological conjurers who seem to pull ready-made solutions of our social problems out of glands and genes.

Patterns of Culture, by RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, 291 pages.

The legend of Proteus is indeed an epitome of the nature of man. Human nature is not everywhere the same. To the contrary, human nature inevitably takes on the characteristics of the culture against which we view it. The ability to appreciate this fact, to see culture as something apart from ourselves, to realize the ways in which our culture determines our reactions to life situations (which appreciation Kroeber terms the "anthropological attitude") is utterly necessary to an understanding of man's strivings and conflicts, and the problems to which they give rise. Dr. Benedict's book is an excellent introduction to the anthropological attitude.

Social Settlements in New York City, by ALBERT J. KENNEDY, KATHRYN FERRA, AND ASSOCIATES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, 599 pages.

This volume is a graphic picture of the role the social settlement plays in the New York City of today. In the past decade social case work has pushed settlement work into the background. More recently there has been much ballyhoo of adult education. Adult education is not new, however, though its problem is enormously enlarged. For more than a generation the settlement has quietly been doing a magnificent piece of adult education. No one interested in the "new" adult education dare ignore this study of the work of the settlement, the second of the studies of the Research Bureau of the New York Welfare Council.

The Social Work Year Book (1935), edited by FRED S. HALL.

New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1935, 698 pages.

Social work has assumed a new importance in our community life of recent years. Not only professional social workers but educators and citizens at large have a vital interest in the problems by which it is faced, and in the agencies set up to deal with them. The Social Work Year Book gives concisely and authoritatively the picture of social work today, and year by year traces changes in its philosophy and scope. An invaluable reference book.

Organizations for Social Welfare, by GEORGE B. MANGOLD.

New York The Macmillan Company, 1934, 494 pages.

An excellent orientation to the field of contemporary social work; against a background of the evolution of social work and looking past our present welter of problems to future trends in social work. Well adapted to college courses—professional or otherwise—which aim to introduce the student to the latest thinking and procedures with reference to present-day social problems.

Education for an Age of Power, by JOSEPH K. HART. New

York. Harper and Brothers, 1935, 245 pages.

As technology races ahead, it creates innumerable lags and resultant conflicts within our culture. Only educational statesmanship, translated through schooling and discussion, can make it possible to take up these lags before the conflicts they produce shatter our culture. Joseph K. Hart discusses this problem as it presents itself in the Tennessee Valley, where the TVA experiment in technological construction is "a sort of cataclysmic forcing of a century of growth into a few years." A forceful, thought-provoking, indubitably significant book.

Interviewing in Social Work, by PAULINE V. YOUNG. New

York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935, 416 pages.

This book is undoubtedly the most thoroughly rationalized analysis of the process of interviewing which has yet appeared. It is written for social workers. It should be equally interesting to counselors, advisers, and visiting teachers. Much of counseling and adjustment rests upon intelligent interviewing. All too frequently we have not realized that valid interviewing involves skill as well as common sense. One of the McGraw-Hill Publications in Sociology.

Criteria for the Life History, by JOHN DOLLARD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, 288 pages.

Since William Healy first emphasized the significance of the "boy's own story" in approaching the delinquent, the usefulness and validity of life-history material has been the subject of much controversy. Dollard's discussion of criteria against which the adequacy of life-history materials may be judged is a significant contribution to both our practical procedures and our techniques of research.

The Crippled and Disabled, by HENRY H. KESSLER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, 337 pages.

An excellent discussion of the education of the crippled child and the rehabilitation of the disabled adult. This volume will be of interest not only to those in the field of social work, but of equal interest to those in education who are concerned with these groups. A useful part of the book is its presentation of the legislation bearing upon these groups.

Mental Hygiene and Education, by MANDEL SHERMAN. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1934, 295 pages.

There have been many attempts to translate the insights of psychiatry into usable knowledge for the layman interested in dealing with the adjustment problems of childhood and adolescence. This is one of the more successful. To the classroom teacher, as well as to the counselor, this book should give insight into the mechanism of the emotional life, the symptoms of which constitute the bulk of the problems with which they must deal. This volume is one of the Longmans Psychology Series.

Guiding Your Child Through the Formative Years, by WINIFRED DEKOK. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1935, 186 pages.

A discussion of development, from the point of view of mental hygiene, from birth to five years of age. Among the subjects treated are: weaning, excretion, learning to talk, imagination, fears and fancies, tantrums, sex education, play, freedom, originality and idiosyncrasy, and independence. Sane, common-sense talk and on a level which parents, without Ph.D.'s in psychology, can get.

Marriage and Sexual Harmony, by OLIVER M. BUTTERFIELD. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1934, 40 pages.

An excellent factual pamphlet, clear, concise, and accurate, to put in the hands of the young man or young woman desiring information concerning the sexual relationship in marriage.

Soviet Russia Fights Crime, by LENKA VON KOERBER, translated from the German by MARY FOWLER. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1935, 240 pages.

In the United States the individual approach to the delinquent and social programs for the prevention of delinquency have never been satisfactorily integrated. The reader may lay this volume down feeling that the U.S.S.R. has not completely reconciled these approaches. But its attempt is significant reading for all students of delinquency.

Five Hundred Delinquent Women, by SHELDON AND ELEANOR T. GLUECK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934, 539 pages.

A companion study to the authors' *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*, this volume analyzes the social problem presented by the delinquent woman, and the adequacy of the social machinery we have set up to deal with the problem. Like the Gluecks's previous studies, it will undoubtedly arouse a storm of controversy among those interested in criminology and penology. Indispensable reading for college and university courses in either field. The methodological note at the end of the volume will be of special interest to others doing research in the field of delinquency.

The Social Worker in the Prevention of Delinquency, by MARGARETTA WILLIAMSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, 236 pages.

This is the fourth volume in the job-analysis series of the American Association of Social Workers. It pictures the social worker in agencies engaged in the prevention of delinquency: the probation officer, parole officer, police woman, social worker in protective agencies, the Big Brother and Big Sister. Of particular interest to attendance officers and visiting teachers whose work brings them into contact with these agencies.

Juvenile Probation, by BELLE BOONE BEARD. New York: American Book Company, 1934, 219 pages.

An analysis of the case records of five hundred children studied at the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic and placed on probation in the Juvenile Court of Boston. Perhaps the most significant evaluation of a concrete

probation program to date. If schoolmen think it remote from their problems, let them recall Warden Lawes's recent statement that the failures of our schools are filling our reformatories and penitentiaries, and reflect upon Dr. Beard's finding that two fifths of these delinquents present educational problems which can be solved only with the coöperation of school officials. One of the American Sociology Series.

The Delinquent Boy and the Correctional School, by NORMAN FENTON. Claremont, California: Claremont Colleges Guidance Center, 1935, 182 pages.

Norman Fenton, director of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research, tells in this book the story of the work of Whittier School in the treatment of delinquency. Whittier School affords one of the outstanding examples in America of individualized school treatment of the delinquent. No one interested in the young delinquent—especially, perhaps, among public-school men—can afford to let this report go unread.

Social Sciences as School Subjects, by ROLLA M. TRYON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, 541 pages.

The title could correctly be "A Statistical Study of the Evolution of History with the Inclusion of Civics, Economics, Political Economics, and Sociology." This is no book for the teacher interested in the social sciences, as its title would lead one to think. It is, rather, a factual, statistical outline, scholarly done, of the growth of history into the inclusive field of social sciences. The first seventy-one pages concern themselves with the effort of the national educational organizations to increase the interest of schools and educators in the possibilities of history as a disciplinary, educational, and cultural subject. The next 466 pages portray step by step the various changes in policy in the teaching of history so as to include the "new" interests, such as civics, political economy, economics, sociology, and psychology.

Propaganda and Promotional Activities, by HAROLD D. LASSWELL, RALPH D. CASEY, and BRUCE L. SMITH. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 1935, xvii + 450 pages.

The first twenty-seven pages give a general introduction to the study, summarizing the practice of propaganda. All of the remaining is

made up of a well-classified annotated bibliography of foreign and American contributions. It is without doubt the most comprehensive bibliography in this field in print

The New America, The New World, by H. G. WELLS. New York The Macmillan Company, 1935, 78 pages.

A very interesting statement regarding the New Deal. Although the author criticizes the generalizations of other analysts of the New Deal, his own recommendation is equally general. He approves the present policy in general, recognizes the limitation of presidential authority, and advocates an English-speaking union to achieve the "New World."

International Organizations in Which the U. S. Participates, by LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1935, x+ 370 pages.

This is a comprehensive yet very readable analysis of the part played by the United States in a variety of international organizations from the Boundary Commission between the United States and Mexico to the International Labor Organization. It is a factual analysis and well documented rather than of a propagandist character.

BOOKS RECEIVED

American College and University, by CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING. New York. The Macmillan Company.

Asiatics, The, by FREDERICK PROKOSCH. New York. Harper and Brothers.

Essential Traits of Mental Life, by TRUMAN L. KELLEY, Cambridge Harvard University Press

Glands and Efficient Behavior, by FLORENCE MATEER. New York D Appleton-Century Company.

Individualizing Education, by J. E. WALTERS. New York. John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Land of the Free, by HERBERT AGAR. Boston Houghton Mifflin Company.

Maxwell, Dr. William H , The First Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York, by SAMUEL P. ABELOW. Brooklyn, New York Scheba Publishing Company.

Organizations for Youth, by E. R. PENDRY AND HUGH HARTSHORNE. New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Personality Maladjustments and Mental Hygiene, by J. E. WALLACE WALLIN. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Psychological Foundations of Education, by J. STANLEY GRAY. New York: American Book Company.

Sanity First: The Art of Sensible Living, by JOSEPH JASTROW. New York: Greenburg, Publisher.

Single Woman and Her Emotional Problems, by LAURA HUTTON. Baltimore: William Wood and Company.

Sociological Theories of William Torrey Harris, by THOMAS HENRY CLARE. St. Louis. Washington University.

Symbols of Government, by THURMAN W. ARNOLD. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tests and Measurements in Industrial Education, by LOUIS V. NEWKIRK AND HARRY A. GREENE. New York John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Theory and Practice of Student Counseling, by HUGH M. BELL. Stanford University: Stanford University Press.

Wayward Youth, by AUGUST AICHORN. New York: Viking Press.

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EDITORIAL

The beginning of the twentieth century ushered in a new emphasis in education. The new emphasis was not, however, peculiar to education, for the importance of the event, the turning of a century, served to cause us to take stock of our achievements and to examine the nature of our social heritage with the result that a new attitude in every field of endeavor appeared and the changed interest in education was simply in line with every activity in the world of affairs. Perhaps the best indication of the nature of the change was the publication, in 1899, of Dewey's *School and Society*, in which the author conceived education as a social function and in which he sought, by implication at least, to present as inadequate the nineteenth-century conception of education as discipline. This publication outlined the basis for a change in our educational procedure and led to several notable educational movements in the twentieth century, especially the conception of education as activity, child-study movement, and progressive education.

The early part of the century was characterized by feverish and excited discussion, but comparatively little change in educational practice. The weight of the educational patterns of the nineteenth century laid a heavy hand upon the twentieth, and the earlier practices persisted. In the meantime a corresponding emphasis was making itself felt in the scientific development of education on the basis of the new psychology which developed

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along with the new social philosophy of education. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the direction of the development of education in line with the new psychology had been set and the resulting activity was the development of tests for a more adequate and effective determination of educational outcomes, actually an attempt to apply scientific techniques to the determination of the results of educational endeavor. The upshot of the scientific movement was to overshadow the attempt to give a social emphasis to education. The mastery of a conventional curriculum again became the essential objective of school instruction. The history of the twentieth century has been, then, the story of the development of more adequate methods and measurements in the teaching and evolution of a limited body of subject matter, essentially a conventional nineteenth-century curriculum.

We cannot afford to give the impression that this scientific development was not significant. It represents one of the most important educational developments in our history but it had the effect of retarding the adequate consideration of the social purposes of education and the techniques by which they might be achieved. This one-sided development might have continued to retard educational growth had it not been for the unprecedented social, industrial, and economic changes which required that we turn our attention from conventional school practices to the school as an agency of social control and as an instrument for the development of personality. We may credit the World War, the economic depression, and the unprecedented unemployment for the new interest in education as a social function. We wish to examine somewhat in detail the problems we are facing in the light of the changes enforced upon us by the problems of social life.

It is necessary in the beginning to indicate the point of view in the conception of education as a social function. In the first

place, education is conceived of as a continuous life process with the preschool and after-school periods considered equally and perhaps more important for education than the school period. In the second place the function of education is the development of personality and the school problem is that of so organizing its materials, that is, its subject matter and activities, its method, its organization, and its measurement, to serve the end of personality development. In the third place, from the point of view of the community, the emphasis of education must be placed upon social behavior and social control.

The point of view here outlined is exactly that implied in the social philosophy of Dewey, which was actively under way at the beginning of the century. Why were we turned from the emphasis outlined in this social philosophy? The answer is simple. The social philosophy of Dewey offered no adequate technique for the realization of its objectives while the scientific movement offered a very definite program. It offered techniques of instruction based upon the Thorndikian laws of learning and a specific technique for the measurement of learning by the methods proposed. The definiteness of the program seemed to offer if not a way out of the educational situation, at least a way to move toward a more scientific procedure, and this caught the enthusiasm of educators and controlled their efforts.

However, the inadequacy of the program for the development of scientific techniques of instruction and the measurement of educational outcomes became gradually apparent and new movements appeared in which the progressive educational movement held the center of the stage and its course has not been fully run, although there are signs of its waning. The decline of the progressive emphasis, obvious from the first, may be accounted for on the ground that it is based upon a philosophy of education founded almost exclusively upon biological and psychological factors and does not take into account obvious sociological

principles and the large body of sociological facts that have been accumulating from the extensive research in that field in the twentieth century. The science of sociology has reached the point in its development when educators cannot neglect it in the formulation of a school program, although this neglect has been almost complete to the present.

Both the neglect of the sociological data and the weakness of progressive education have been apparent and some of the most pertinent criticism of progressive education has come from its supporters. John Dewey says:

In criticizing the progressive schools, as I have indicated already, it is difficult to make sweeping generalizations. But some of these schools indulge pupils in unrestrained freedom of action and speech, of manners and lack of manners. Schools farthest to the left (and there are many parents who share the fallacy) carry the thing they call freedom nearly to the point of anarchy. This license, however—this outer freedom in action—is but an included part of the larger question touched upon. When there is genuine control and direction of experiences that are intrinsically worth while by objective subject matter, excessive liberty of outward action will also be naturally regulated. Ultimately it is the absence of intellectual control through significant subject matter which stimulated the deplorable egotism, cockiness, impertinence, and disregard for the rights of others apparently considered by some persons to be the inevitable accompaniment, if not the essence of freedom.¹

We need to examine, then, somewhat more closely the point of view of the sociologist and the neglect that has been occasioned by the failure of the educator to take account of the sociological principles developed from the research in the sociological field. Obviously in this short article we cannot do more than to suggest the sociological approach, since space would not permit us to marshal the extensive data in support of the point of view presented. The significant neglect has been caused by the

¹ E. George Payne, *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Vol. II (New York. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933), p. 411.

failure of educators to take account of the fundamental part that culture plays in determining social behavior, personality, and social control. We mean here that aspect of culture which includes folkways, customs, social patterns, and the mores. The essential element here is the mores, which Sumner defines as

the popular usages and traditions, when they include a judgment that they are conducive to societal welfare, and when they exert a coercion on the individual to conform to them, although they are not coordinated by any authority.²

The social heritage, then, which includes the mores lies in the social background of the individual as a part of the group life—and the individual cannot be understood or changed, that is, educated, except in terms of them. This means that education cannot take place effectively in any community or area except as the total social background of that community is known and its exact influence in the behavior of the individual is determined. Sociology has been busy for years developing techniques that will give us some measure of the background influences in education, but educators, in the formulation of programs, have almost completely neglected them. The schools cannot serve the community until these background factors are taken fully into account.

We can illustrate the point of our criticism by referring to a recent attempt at curriculum reconstruction in the field of health education. The course of study which represents curriculum making at its best as now practised in this country is a selection of "best practices." The so-called "best-practice" method is the selection of the best practices from a complete curriculum survey and the organization of those best practices into a course of study, indicating what should be taught in each year from the first to the twelfth, with a testing program, that will determine how well the pupil has learned the facts taught. This course of

² William G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston Ginn and Company, 1907), p. 111.

study, when it is completed, goes into operation without reference to the specific background characterizing the various parts of the community the curriculum is to serve. Some of the differences of these backgrounds indicate the inadequacy of such a program. Examples of differences are the folkways, mores, differences in health conditions and practices, playground facilities, and the like. Such differences as variations in infant mortality in different localities in the community, running from a number of less than forty per thousand to two hundred, a variation of the death rate from five or six to thirty-seven, a vitally different morbidity status and widely varying attitudes toward health practices and needs all demand specific emphasis according to the needs of each group and of each child within the group. Obviously a course of study constructed without reference to these needs, but merely on the ground of desirable subject matter, could not meet the demands of such varying groups, however adequate they might be for some. Moreover, testing merely the acquired knowledge is of little value in determining changed practices upon which improvement in health conditions depends. Furthermore, the weakness of the health program indicates a typical inadequacy of the whole educational program, namely, the failure to coordinate school activities with those of other agencies doing a distinctively educational job.

We hope, in several issues of *THE JOURNAL*, to present a survey of the extent to which schools have come to serve the community by taking account of background factors and later to point the way to a more adequate procedure for taking full account of the cultural factors in an effective educational program.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

COMMUNITY COÖRDINATION—THE NEXT “MOVEMENT” IN EDUCATION

JULIUS YOURMAN

New York University

Chairman, Queens Committee for Social Progress

American public schools are supported and maintained to develop well-adjusted citizens. This aim justifies compulsory free school attendance and the assessment for school taxes without reference to the number of children a taxpayer has in school. School taxes are paid for protection in a democracy, not for tuition; school attendance is a requirement, not an opportunity. As a consequence, when a child attends a public school, he does not feel that he is the recipient of charity. He is preparing to meet the requirement of the American system that he assume a responsible position in community life.

While the purpose of public education—preparation for citizenship—remains constant, its meaning changes as community conditions and needs change. In striving to meet the overwhelming social problems that make the adjustment of the individual as a citizen difficult, most schools have added programs of health education and service, educational and vocational guidance, recreation, preparation for leisure, personality adjustment, civic and social-science education, club activities, and education of adults. Many schools are providing food, glasses, clothes, and rest to children who are in need, vocational placement for graduates, special education and treatment for atypical children, and a variety of other services obviously in keeping with the aim to develop well-adjusted citizens but difficult to reconcile with the limitation of the school function to an expanded program of the three “R’s.” Many progressive school administrators believe that, given sufficient funds and a well-trained staff, they could meet successfully the current problems in family and community life by extending the school program and services.

A few educators do not believe that the school, through its own program, could meet adequately any of the current community problems, despite any increase in appropriations and improvement in personnel. They believe that the school is the special agency that should be expected to emphasize the more formal aspects and give direction to the program of education, but education, for them, is a full-time community responsibility and project. These educators point out that school programs of hygiene, character, recreation, social adjustment, civic education, vocational guidance, *et al.*, are futile if attitudes and conditions in homes and the community discourage children from trying to apply what they learn in school. Without a coördinated community program the work of the school is at best piecemeal, remedial, and inefficient. With this new concept of the relationships of school and community, these men and women are pioneering in fields of organization and administration.

This issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* is devoted to practical programs that have been devised to meet the need for coördinated community action. Schools use and serve their communities in various ways. There is at present no single answer to the first question: "Who is responsible for community coördination?"

Several techniques of organization, in which the schools take varying degrees of leadership and responsibility, are described in the articles that follow this.

A second major consideration in the development of a community-wide educational program is the selection of areas of service and coördination. These include health, community studies, crime prevention, guidance, relief, motion-picture control, community directories, recreation, housing, education, adult education, and social planning. The assistance of community leaders on committees and on service projects, and the aid of workers on relief projects have made it possible for compre-

hensive, effective surveys and programs to be carried on without special funds.

A third problem is concerned with the preparation of teachers for participation in community planning and service, as well as for the guidance and instruction of children. A new emphasis in pre-service and in-service courses appears to be needed.

Some schools are not ready, or they do not find their communities ready, for comprehensive coördinating programs. Instead, they are participating with their communities in single projects, such as the reduction of race prejudice,¹ the utilization and interpretations of national and racial cultures,² surveys of communities made by students as part of their schoolwork,³ coöperation with parents on school projects,⁴ and community study and improvement.⁵

More complete programs are described in the articles that follow. They indicate marked differences in organization and method, but they reveal complete agreement on the thesis that education no longer can be confined or conducted inside the walls of the school buildings. They lead us to visualize the birth of a third stage in American education. At first the school saw its objective narrowly, as handing down the factual heritage; the second stage sees the wider meaning of education as adjustment, and bravely the school seeks to meet all the problems of mal-

¹ *Changing Attitudes Toward Other Races and Nations*, Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, 503 West 121st Street, New York City, June 1934. Pauline D. Knobbs, "Educating for a Bi-racial Community," *Progressive Education*, XII 3 (March 1935), pp. 181-185.

² Vivienne S. Worley, "Italy and Mexico Come to Denver," *Progressive Education*, XII 3 (March 1935), pp. 160-163.

³ A. P. Gossard, "High School Pupils Study Their Community," *The School Review*, XLIII 4 (April 1935), pp. 268-272.

⁴ Julia Markham, Community Relationships, Circulars 5 and 6, 1934, Informal Teaching Series, State Education Department, Albany, N. Y.

⁵ *Trends in Unit Teaching*, Roscoe Conkling School, Utica, N. Y., 1934 (40c). Also pamphlets published by Westchester County Publications Committee, White Plains High School, White Plains, N. Y. (with cooperation of community clubs, teachers, and pupils).

adjustment of individuals and communities, the dawning third stage carries back to the community the responsibility for education and leaves with the school the responsibility for leadership and service.

The onset of the third stage promises many opportunities and challenges for alert, critical educators who enjoy experimentation. As examples, I am presenting five of the many fundamental problems:

1. Will community councils, in planning coordinated educational programs, be returning to a fundamental of American school organization—the control of education by a lay school board—which boards of education generally have permitted to decline from an educational service to a liability?

2. Will the consideration of current community problems in the community councils, the classrooms, and the adult forums bring back the pure democracy of the town meeting?

3. How can teachers prepare themselves for community service? Should they be trained to assist with community planning and surveys, to participate on committees and forum panels, to understand and utilize community resources and agencies? Should these special services be “expected” of every teacher, or should she have the opportunity, as a member of the community, to volunteer her services?

4. Will the programs for community improvement by volunteer and semiofficial councils develop a new force in government, and, perhaps, reintroduce consideration of qualifications, unselfish service, and responsiveness to community needs?

5. Will the redefinition of education as a community function and responsibility answer the questions that have disturbed educators: “Is the school responsible for crime, dependency, and poor government?” and “Dare the schools build a new social order?”

These questions merely suggest the challenges on the horizon.

A HIGH SCHOOL AND ITS IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY—A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY

LEONARD COVELLO

Principal, Benjamin Franklin High School, New York
Vice-President, East Harlem Council of Social Agencies, New York

In New York City, the public-school system occupies not only an important strategic position but also a unique position in the life of the community. It is the only social agency that has direct contact with practically every family within the community and the education law makes this contact with the family compulsory from the early childhood to the late adolescence of every boy and girl. This is important when one realizes that the public-school system functions in a city which has a population of close to seven million people, of whom one million two hundred thousand go to school.

In a city of the size of New York, with a population made up mainly of comparatively recent migrations from every nook and corner of the world, a study of the composition and characteristics of the population is a vital necessity.

The total population of New York City, according to the United States Census for 1930, was 6,930,446. An analysis of the population figures of this Census brings out certain significant and educationally important facts, as follows.

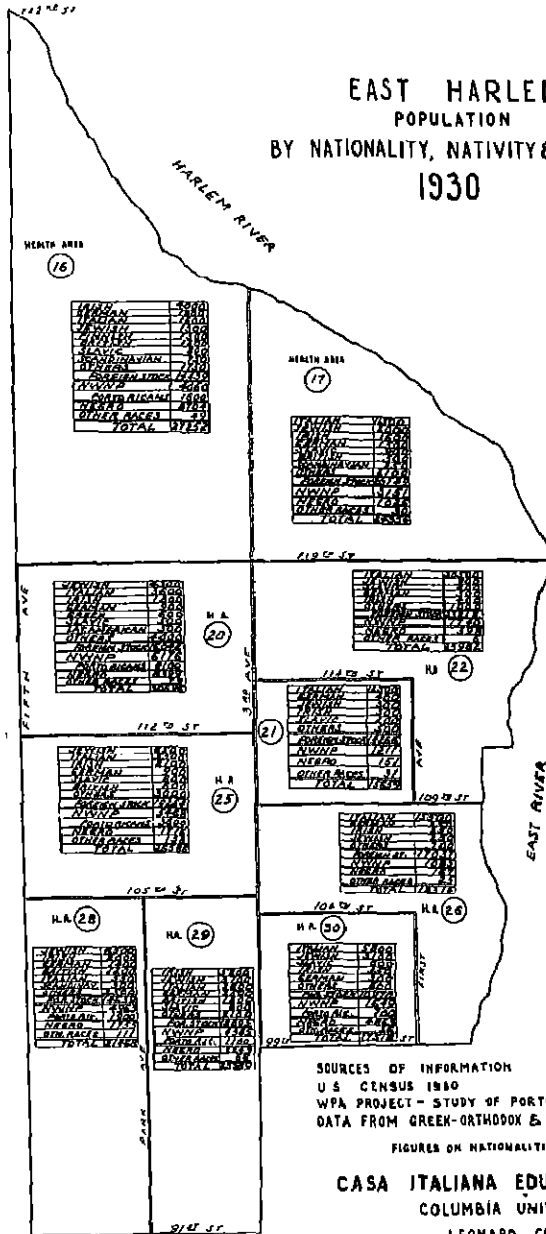
<i>Native stock</i>	{ 1,505,200 or 21.7 per cent of the population is native white of native parents
<i>Foreign stock</i>	{ 2,788,625 or 40.2 per cent is native white of foreign-born parents 2,293,400 or 33.1 per cent is foreign born 343,221 or 5.0 per cent is Negroes and others

The fact that 73 per cent of the population of New York City is of foreign stock is, of course, very significant.

In general the composition and characteristics of the popula-

tion of New York as shown by the United States Census of 1930 are true for the East Harlem community in Manhattan in which the main building of the Benjamin Franklin High School is located. The high school draws its student body largely from this community whose total population is 233,400, according to the United States Census of 1930. Of this total, 20,888 or 9.0 per cent are native white of native parents. Of the foreign stock, 13,000 or 5.6 per cent are Porto Rican; 86,174 or 35.7 per cent are native white of foreign parents; 83,345 or 36.9 per cent are foreign born; 29,422 or 12.7 per cent are Negroes; and 571 or .1 per cent other groups. As these figures show, in the section where the Community Advisory Council of the school is concentrating its efforts, 78.2 per cent of the residents is of foreign stock. It is estimated that about a third of the population is of Italian origin. There is also a rapidly increasing population of Spanish-speaking peoples, mainly Porto Rican, while there is, and has been, a correspondingly rapidly diminishing population of people of Jewish, Irish, and German stock.

These facts are educationally important. The school, in order to be effective, must keep constantly in mind the fact that it is dealing with a heterogeneous population, new to American soil, transplanted here in haste, and only now beginning to take root. This new immigration is still struggling with a bilingual problem, is still facing all types of difficulties in trying to adapt itself to the varying, quickly shifting, and confusing standards of social behavior. It is still living under emotional stress because it has been unable to adjust itself adequately to the speed and complexity of our industrial and commercial life. It is still incapable of adjusting itself to the tempo of American life. This condition is further aggravated by the fact that these communities are often isolated from the more wholesome forces in our American life. These things create problems difficult to solve and present both an obligation and an opportunity to the school.



JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The problem of juvenile delinquency, for example, is one that baffles all the forces of organized society. The police, the home, the church, and the school seem helpless in meeting the situation. The causes of delinquency are many and varied but one fact seems constantly evident, viz., that the highest rate of delinquency is characteristic of immigrant communities. This fact obtrudes into every consideration of this problem. It is true, however, that the delinquent is usually the American-born child of foreign-born parents, not the immigrant himself. Delinquency, then, is fundamentally a *second generation* problem. This intensifies the responsibility of the school, the one organization most definitely charged with the duty of molding youth into a better type of citizen. In juvenile delinquency and crime, the economic problem is an extremely important factor but it is not, by far, *the* most important factor. The most important cause is to be found in the weakening of social controls in these communities—controls that were operative in the homelands and in the communities from which the foreign born came. That fact has definitely increased juvenile delinquency and it has drawn into the criminal class more and more of the youth of the country.

In these immigrant communities, composed of foreign-born parents and American-born children, the most critical period in the life of the family is that in which the children reach adolescence and on through the adolescent period. This is the high-school age. It is the age when the so-called American idea of "living one's own life," which the immigrant-born children have absorbed from their American environment, begins to clash with the European idea of family solidarity, of obedience, of respect for elders, and of subservience to family needs and requirements.

The real educational problem lies in the emotional conflicts that are particularly tormenting to the boy or girl whose parents

still have both feet planted firmly and deeply in centuries of European tradition and custom. With these established traditions and customs, the younger generation is often in conflict. There is often a feeling of scorn and shame in the children of the foreign born because of the pressure of adverse opinion from without their own racial group. This often produces an anti-social attitude that is dangerous to the boy and dangerous for the community. This antisocial attitude is largely the fertile breeding ground for the crime and delinquency that present such a disturbing problem for school and society.

THE SCHOOL AND FORTY MILLION NEW AMERICANS

The situation thus briefly outlined is not peculiar to any one community alone. Conditions of this nature prevail not only in many communities in New York City but in practically all industrial centers where the new immigrant has sought work and tried to found a home. Out of a total population of about 125,000,000, approximately 40,000,000—or one third of the people of the United States—are of foreign stock. For these people in their foreign communities a more wholesome community life must be evolved. It is difficult to do this, particularly at this late stage. The problem of assimilation and of cultural harmony, the development of a wholesome national consciousness in the midst of great cultural diversity, the clash of racial and nationality interests are really basic problems—and they must be the chief concern of the school because to the school is entrusted the education of the future citizens.

Unfortunately, the school, in the past, has failed to realize fully the importance of these problems, neither has it perceived definitely the extent of its influence in arriving at a happy solution of the difficulties peculiar to the immigrant's unfixed and unrecognized American status.

Let us for a moment ask: What role has the public school

played in immigrant or foreign communities in which it is located? What role is it playing today? Has the school really felt the life of the community pulsating beyond its four walls? Has it made an attempt to realize the problems and the difficulties with which the immigrant neighborhood is faced? Has it answered the community call for help and its need and longing for guidance? To what extent has the school penetrated into the community, analyzing, encouraging, and developing its latent educational forces, and helping to counteract the forces of disorganization that apparently even the highly organized society of today seems unable to curb even in the better ordered communities?

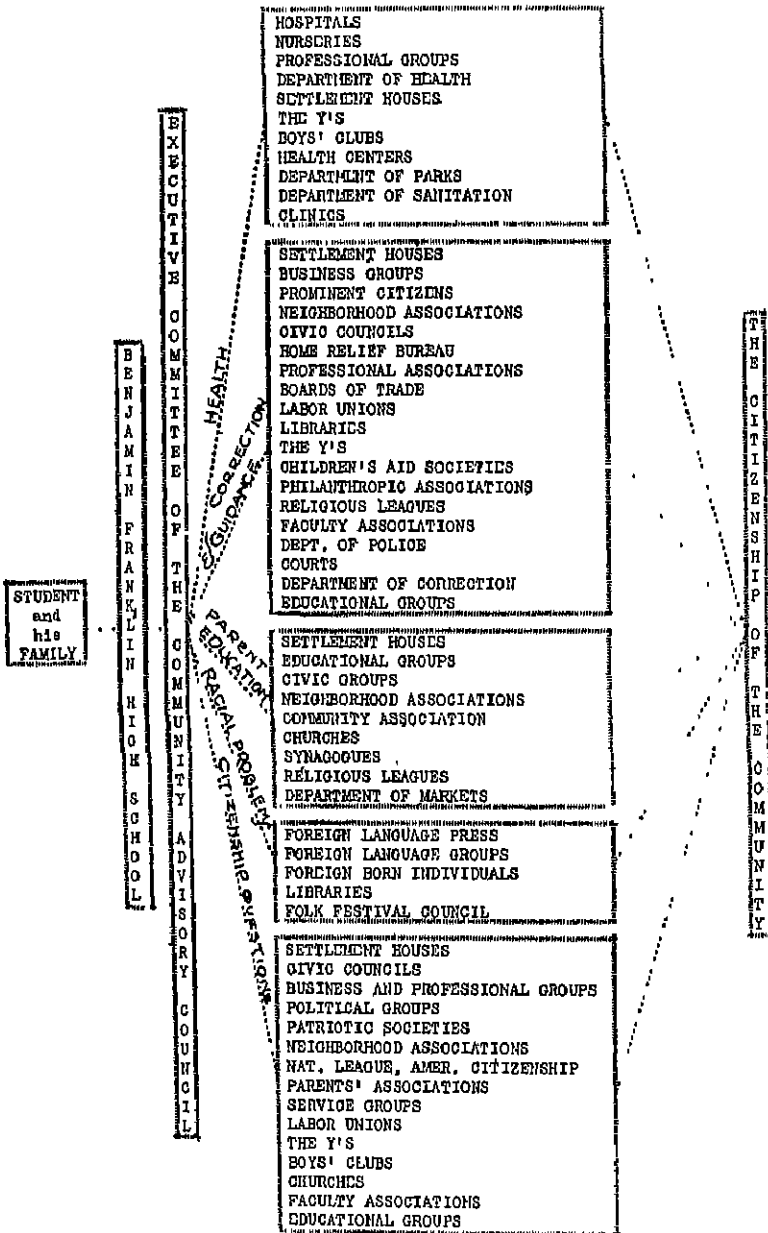
The answer to all these questions, unfortunately, is very discouraging. The school, in the past, has met few, if any, of these problems. However, there seems to be at present an awakening sense of duty and of opportunity that may produce a changed outlook and a stronger influence for progress in the future. The school is reaching out for the contacts and the program that will provide a basis for effective work. To function successfully, it must know not only the social and educational background of its boys and girls, but it must also go one step further, it must strive to understand the individual child in his social relationships outside of school. More important still, it must play an active and aggressive part in the affairs of the community. The school must assume the role demanded by its very nature; it must be the leader and the coördinating agency in all educational enterprises affecting the life of the community and, to a certain extent, the pivot upon which much even of the social and civic life of the neighborhood shall turn. There can be no denial of the fact that there are, outside the school, vital, powerful, and compelling forces that are constantly educating the boys and girls of the community in spite of, or contrary to, the school ideal. The surging life of the community as a whole, its motion-

picture houses, its dance halls, its streets, its gangs, its churches, its community houses, its community codes of behavior and morals—these will either promote or destroy the work of the school.

The Benjamin Franklin High School soon realized this fact and set about organizing a Community Advisory Council. This Council proposes to bring to the aid of the school all the constructive forces within the East Harlem district so as to combat the many disruptive forces of the community. The main building of the high school itself is in the heart of an immigrant community that seems to have suffered from an almost malevolent concentration of those factors in modern industrial life that warp human development. Unsanitary dwellings, congested housing, lack of play space, unsightly streets, low economic returns for the wage earner, exploitation of the worker and often of his whole family, lack of proper opportunities in all the varying phases of life—all these things have contributed to the deterioration of the East Harlem neighborhood into what is known as a "tough" district among those who are unfamiliar with the potential human values basic in the people and in the life of the community. The fact that there is a widespread lack of understanding of these inherent values in the immigrant centers throughout the Nation creates problems that should be of interest to progressive educators.

A COMMUNITY-CENTER PROGRAM

The Benjamin Franklin High School is merely feeling its way toward what may be a proper solution of these problems. The school naturally sought, from the beginning, to identify itself closely with the social and educational agencies in the community. Members of the faculty were asked to serve on committees of the Yorkville Civic Council and the East Harlem Council of Social Agencies. The principal of the school was elected vice-president of the latter organization, while the main



ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY ADVISORY COUNCIL of the BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL

Leonard Covello -- Chairman

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Harold Fields -- Chairman

CIVIC GROUPS		
EDUCATIONAL		SOCIAL AGENCIES
Members of Board of Education The Superintendent of Schools Assoc. & Asst. Superintendents Members of Local School Boards Principals of Local Public Schools Principals of Parochial Schools	Patriotic Societies Neighborhood Associations Nat. League, Amer. Citizenship Civic Councils Home Relief Bureaus Parents' Associations	Settlement Houses Libraries Community Associations The Y's Children's Aid Society Philanthropic Assn. Scouts' Clubs Health Centers Nurseries
PROMINENT CITIZENS OF THE COMMUNITY	FOREIGN LANGUAGE SOCIETIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS Societis Press Folk Festival Council	RELIGIOUS GROUPS Churches Synagogues Religious Leagues Affiliated Church Organizations
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL Parents' Association Alumni Association Faculty Club	MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS Parks Health Hospitals Clinics Sanitation Markets Police Courts Correction	BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL GROUPS Professional Associations Boards of Trade Service Groups - Lions, Rotary, etc. Labor Unions

building of the school was used for the yearly meeting of the East Harlem Council of Social Agencies for 1935. At this meeting the program of the school and the scope and work of the school's Community Advisory Council were discussed fully.

Concurrently with the opening of the day high school in September 1934, the school, in coöperation with the East Harlem Council of Social Agencies and the Civil Works Administration, set up an afternoon community playground from 3.30 until 6.00, for the children of the neighborhood. An evening community center for adults, open from 7.30 until 10.00, was established also in an effort to place all the facilities of the school at the service of its neighbors from early morning until late at night. The Community Advisory Council, as may be seen from the charts reproduced here, has called upon every community organization that comes in contact in any way whatsoever with the people of the neighborhood.

The school, and the coöperating agencies in the neighborhood, are centering attention and effort upon certain fundamental aspects of the educational problems of the community because of a conviction that to correct the causes of maladjustment is patently the task of any school that wishes to aid in transforming these communities of foreign-born people into an integral part of the larger American community to which they should, for the good of all concerned, belong fully and happily. To accomplish this, it is necessary first to allay the distrust and the antagonism that have arisen out of misunderstanding and indifference. Disruptive forces must be replaced with a spirit of friendliness and intelligent coöperation in the building of wholesome social and civic relationships. There must be a spirit of tolerance and of mutual give and take between the immigrant and his children and the native born and his children. The immigrant and his children must be made to feel that they "belong" to America. They must be made to realize that America

does not regard them as inferiors and that all that is not American is not to be scorned. They must be encouraged to feel that "a knowledge of and a pride in" their foreign cultural heritage is natural and just—something desirable for themselves, for the America of today, and the America of tomorrow.

These children of the foreign born must be given the pride and the sense of equality that are absolutely essential to their well-being, because personal dignity cannot be founded on shame or fear. For such shame and fear, the school must substitute ambition and self-respect that will lead these boys and girls to make a real contribution to America through lives that are well ordered, happy, and constructive. Furthermore, these children of the immigrant must be made to feel that the school is a symbol of the finer things of life. Warmth, friendliness, interest in the individual that knows no limitations of race, creed, politics, temporary adversity, or of social misfortune—these are the important things, particularly in dealing with youth. Too often they are omitted because of the complexities of modern living; too often the inability to find time for friendly individual contacts and for a real understanding of the needs of youth defeats the most zealous and well-meaning plans for educational and social betterment.

The Benjamin Franklin High School is dedicated to the task of building a finer citizenship and a better community life for all. Whatever may be the measure of its success, no matter how many may be the obstacles and the discouragements, the school will continue to try to meet its larger responsibility and its larger opportunity. In doing this every agency and every influence will be marshaled into the service of the community. In order that citizenship may be made vital to the boys of the district every resource and every facility will be merged in a comprehensive program for the future.

THE COMMUNITY ADVISORY COUNCIL

Already five major committees, which will work in the five major fields for improving the citizenship of the boys and of our community, have been formed. They are the Health Committee, the Citizenship Committee, the Parent Education Committee, the Correction and Guidance Committee, and the Racial Committee. Last year a limited survey of the social and educational agencies in the district was made. This survey will be continued more intensively this year and will be regularly included in the yearly school program in an effort to assemble all available data for use in the proposed plan for coördinated community education, with the school as the center of activity. The school must know its community intimately in order to work out an intelligent and effective program.

To ensure full neighborhood participation, generous use will be made of languages other than English. A great many of the older people in the community do not use English but speak instead some foreign language. This makes it necessary to interpret American life to them not only in the English language but in their own languages as well. Plans are being made also to reach the numerous racial and national societies through languages with which they are familiar. The students of the language department of the Benjamin Franklin High School will give plays from time to time in foreign languages, and in English also for these foreign-language-speaking groups. There will be musical programs, and questions of citizenship, child guidance, health, and other personal, social, and community problems will be discussed. We feel, moreover, that the contact of the boys of the school with the older groups will tend to create a sense of responsibility in these boys and will aid in developing the latent leadership that certainly exists among them. That this is true has been proved in the past by results obtained by some of us who have been doing, successfully, work of this

kind for a great many years. It is still needed and we shall continue it intensively and with larger means than has been possible in the past.

Educating youth is not the sole task in a foreign community like that of East Harlem, parent education is an equally vital need. There are special aspects to this program also, if the real problems are to be intelligently met. The Parents' Association into which all members of the community are welcomed will be developed more fully along racial lines because it is felt that the foreign-born parent must know the school and what it offers. Use of languages other than English—as well as English—makes it easier for the non-English speaking parent to realize the difficulties that face his children and aids, therefore, in establishing more wholesome and harmonious relations in the home. A great deal of our time during each day at the school is taken up by interviews with parents who do not speak English and who are helpless, therefore, in coping with situations that arise between them and their children. The school acts as a medium of harmony whenever and wherever it is possible to serve in this way. Our Student Aid Committee, through its home visiting, is working along these same lines.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

The work of the Citizenship Committee of the Benjamin Franklin High School offers proof of how civics can be taught through a practical program rather than merely through textbooks.

In an endeavor to interest the boys of our school in the citizenship of their parents, we have instituted a naturalization drive for the benefit of their parents and relatives and neighbors. We have organized a corps of speakers from among our own students who will present to the boys of the school the reasons why they should be concerned about the citizenship of their parents. The movement in this way becomes an expression of interest on

the part of the boys rather than one that is imposed upon the students by the teachers.

To aid in creating further interest, letters in English and in several foreign languages are sent by the teachers to advise the parents of this citizenship drive and to urge them to become citizens for their own sake and for the sake of their children. A form asking for their citizenship or alien status accompanies these letters. When this form has been returned a second letter to parents seeking naturalization is sent out informing them where and when they can receive training in citizenship and complimenting them upon their interest in becoming citizens of the United States.

At a designated time a group of naturalization secretaries who have been gathered from associated agencies in this field will report at the school to assist personally these alien parents. As a matter of interest, the students are being urged to accompany their parents on these evenings. Application forms are filled out free of charge, citizenship questions are answered, and immigration matters are discussed.

The result of all this has been a greatly increased interest in citizenship among the boys and a closer coöperation between the school and the patriotic, civic, and welfare organizations of the community. Likewise, the boys have become more genuinely interested in the affairs of their parents. At the same time, the parents have been made to feel that the school exists to serve them as well as their children. This has brought about a better understanding generally and has made possible a program of related activities beneficial to all. Moreover, the elementary schools and the junior high schools have been drawn into closer coöperation with the high school. The principals of these other schools are also notifying parents of the opportunity to prepare for citizenship, thus creating a desire for participation on the part of the entire community.

SOCIAL-WELFARE ACTIVITIES

The social agencies in the community have already been indexed by institution and type of service and the school will make this information available through the boys for their families. Whenever necessary the information will be translated into the language which the parents understand and, if need be, connections with these agencies will be established by the Student Aid Committee of the school which has been already actively in touch with many of these agencies.

To combat the prevalence of truancy and delinquency which has been rather marked in this district, we plan, in coöperation with interested citizens of the community, to establish a "Big Brother" movement in the district. Teachers, parents, and others will assist in this phase of the work, which will be done not only by the adults of the community but by some of the older boys of the school as well. Experience in this type of service leads me to believe that these young men will render excellent service.

A joint program in the study of housing conditions has been carried out with the Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, which has prepared a very interesting exhibit of charts, graphs, and models which the students of the Benjamin Franklin High School visited during school hours. The housing exhibit was then transported to the school library and for over a week was made available for study and discussion to all the students in the school. The English, social science, and art departments took up in their classes the question of housing. Discussions of housing, compositions on better houses and model houses and even model villages were included in this program which has led to an intelligent and real appreciation of housing and its effect on the community.

Another venture centers about individual aid for students. Many of the boys desire to secure information about opportuni-

ties in different lines of work or in careers they wish to follow. To meet their needs, we arranged a series of assembly meetings dealing with the opportunities open to boys today in various professional and nonprofessional fields. The discussion leaders were men and women of the community who had succeeded in their particular lines of work. In this way we will be able to assist our students as a body; and, in specific cases, refer them to properly qualified individuals who will study their cases and recommend their entrance into the field of activity for which they seem best qualified.

The advisability of establishing a series of adult forums using English and foreign languages is under consideration. Through these we hope to reach the parents of the boys. Our ultimate hope lies in the fact that if these forums prove successful, we can convey to the parents and to other adults in this neighborhood an understanding of what we are trying to accomplish and we can help them in arriving at a more sympathetic approach of the problem of raising their American-born child of foreign heritage.

As for myself, I am firmly of the conviction that America, which began as an experiment in democratic institutions, can only continue and grow as a democracy if democracy will concern itself particularly with these forty million people of foreign stock in the country—the forty million new Americans of whom a goodly number are concentrated in isolated immigrant communities, “for democracy cannot rise any higher than the level of the mass of its citizens.”

Surely by working thus upon a plan for better, finer community life, as well as for better education, the school justifies itself more fully. Out of this intelligent widening of its activities and influence may come the fulfillment of the hopes and dreams that have spurred some of us to ceaseless thought and effort in behalf of the youth of today.

THE SCHOOL AND THE HASTINGS COMMUNITY SERVICE COUNCIL

HERMAN ROBERT OTNESS

The Community Service Council of Hastings-on-Hudson and the public schools are two agencies which are integrating their programs for community growth and organization. The Community Service Council is an outgrowth of factors of social disorganization on the one hand and on the other hand an attitude of responsibility on the part of socially minded people in the community. A group of these citizens interested the mayor in creating a Community Service Council. As stated by the mayor of Hastings, the Community Service Council is an official agency of the government to deal with the human side of community problems.

Citizens felt that the Council with the official backing of the village government would have more force than if operating under the school or through volunteer agencies. Furthermore, the projects of the Council are receiving public support through inclusion in the village budget.

The factors of social disorganization which led to the creation of the Council are those of rapid growth in population, change from a rural to a suburban community, influx of nationalities, and economic and geographical conditions. There are thirty nationalities represented in Hastings with sixty-six per cent of the population of foreign stock, according to the 1930 United States Census. The foreign population, chiefly Poles, Hungarians, and Russians, is of the laboring class and is located in one congested section near the river front and factories of Hastings. As a result of the installation of laborsaving devices in the factories, many of these foreign laborers have become unemployable, leading to serious economic conditions in family and community life.

The topography of Hastings, through the creation of many sections with characteristics of isolation, is another factor which

has led to social disorganization. There are few interconnecting streets between sections that are located on hills or on steeply rising terraces or on the lowlands of the river front. Conflicting attitudes among sections and nationalities are further causes of social disorganization.

Citizens of Hastings seem to have been aware of the need for greater social organization and, through their many organizations, they have made efforts toward community improvement. However, these efforts have not been coordinated. Due to an unfortunate juvenile murder in the community in 1932, a feeling of "community consciousness" was aroused and Hastings demanded social organization that would lead to protection of its youth, and to effective organization for adult participation in community life.

Using the social-survey technique, a detailed social base map of the community of Hastings was made by the superintendent of schools. From this map the entire community can be studied from viewpoints of health, housing, foreign population, parks and recreation, etc. This provides a basis for an extensive study of the community.

The Community Service Council is composed of six branches or divisions. Each division has its committee of citizens of Hastings who are by trade or profession experts in such fields as social work, school administration, law, medicine, and some who are representatives of labor. This makes the work of the Council effective. Citizens are donating their services to this community project without pay.

The Council is composed of the following divisions:

- I. *Recreations and Parks.* Aim Improving and supplying more worth-while forms of leisure-time activities, thus contributing toward the prevention of delinquency.

The director of this department is hired on salary for full-

time work in the community. He has charge of all community recreation both in summer and during the school year, working in coöperation with the recreation department of the school, and using the school building as a community center. The various gymnasiums and rooms in the school building are in use every night in the week by community groups engaged in some sort of wholesome activity.

Membership in this recreation division is open to all boys and girls from the ages of eight to twenty-one. A small fee is charged monthly, ranging from two and one-half to fifteen cents. The girls' groups engage in athletics, tap dancing, clubs, handwork like crocheting, knitting, etc. Citizens in the community contribute their services in teaching these activities.

Directed play during the summer will tend to help solve many leisure-time problems among the young people of Hastings. It is also hoped that it will assist in solving the problem of delinquency.

Through the influence of this division of the Community Service Council, it is also hoped that citizens will be encouraged to participate voluntarily in a more general program by attending concerts, lectures, and by visiting museums in New York City. The school is effective through its clubs in cultivating hobbies among its students. Thus school and community are developing a leisure-time program that is educational as well as enjoyable.

II. *Family and Child Welfare.* Aim: To establish coöperation between the home and the school guidance clinic, and to find out what individuals and groups are already doing to alleviate unsatisfactory conditions.

This division of the Council has been organized to study and to bring to the attention of the community information relative to factors and influences surrounding the family and child

life in the community; such as, unsupervised dance halls, inadequate opportunities for employment and for recreation of young people. This Council is always glad to confer with any citizen who desires such counsel and guidance as is available in Hastings by making available the services of community agencies.

The school, through its vocational-guidance program, is aiding greatly the work of the Council. It strives to give assistance in cases of maladjustment among school children and seeks to prevent maladjustments by the early detecting of the needs of children through its daily contact with them. The vocational department of the school keeps on file pertinent information concerning each student for purposes of more effective guidance. The broad and varied curricula reach the interests of most students. Splendid courses are offered in fields of industrial arts, secretarial practice, clerical practice, bookkeeping, general business, and, last but not least, household arts and mechanics. These courses are broad enough so that any student specializing in any one of them is equipped to handle a position or be a useful helper. The town business houses offer opportunities to the students to work part time while taking the business courses. The school, in this program, is definitely contributing to the child and family welfare of the community by increasing the possibilities of earning a living through a specialized, practical, and guided study. The Service Council coöperates closely with the County Department of Child Welfare. The school program of recreations and physical education and that of the division of Recreation and Parks in the Council are very closely tied up with the activities of the division of Child Welfare.

III. *Housing*. Aim: To investigate the housing conditions in congested areas and make recommendations concerning the problem of improvement.

The congested area in this community is the factory district

near the river front. The buildings are small and living conditions are not desirable. The housing division of the Service Council has made an extensive investigation of existing conditions. It is attempting to investigate what might be done to enforce sanitary standards under existing laws. It has also investigated the consideration of low-cost housing projects in other areas of the community and the possible means of financing such projects. There are many vacant and desirable areas in the community that are ideal for a low-cost housing project. The problem of private ownership of both the tenements and the vacant areas has to be solved. Most of the children in this area have foreign-born parents. That the home life here reflects the culture and traditions of the native country is shown in the school contacts.

The school is doing much in teaching the children the needs and advantages of sanitary methods, wholesome foods, and higher standards of living. Home and school projects are being devised for modifying home practices. The difficulty of changing attitudes of foreign-born parents tends to retard the adoption of newer methods.

IV. *Public Relief and Welfare.* Aim: To determine the means by which the community can take on the relief work if Federal and State aid are withdrawn.

This division of the Council plans to work in coördination with village, town, and county agencies in handling the relief problem of the community. It also strives to prevent any duplication of service in matters of relief. It is investigating the possibility of some local community projects that could be attempted to help meet the problem of relief and welfare.

The school is instrumental in bringing in outside speakers of interest on timely topics.

The parent-teacher organization of the school holds weekly meetings in the school building. Here problems of child, school,

and community are discussed with interest. This club, organized by the school, sponsors many projects to raise money to be used to buy clothing and to supply health needs of the pupils who are unable to pay for them.

V. *Health*. Aim: To coöperate with county health program to make it function efficiently in the community; to establish an effective community health center and to coördinate existing agencies.

This division of the Community Service Council is very anxious to assist in the prevention of contagious diseases. It will establish a community health center in the Municipal Building under the direction and leadership of the county health nurse assigned to Hastings. The health division is also to strive for greater coöperation between the agencies already established for purposes of health betterment.

The school has a regular full-time school nurse and clinic. The school also has a doctor and a dentist connected with its health department. The health needs are revealed through physical examinations and recommendations are made accordingly. Many of these needs are met free of charge when it is impossible for the pupils to pay for them.

The school curricula place emphasis on personal hygiene, diet, and other factors pertaining to health. The facts of hygiene are learned easily by children, but a problem arises when the practices are not followed in the homes. Many of the homes are dominated by foreign tradition and new ideas and practices are adopted reluctantly. However, it is the plan of this division of the Council to bring in trained experts on diet, health, and wholesome living to lecture to the various organizations within this foreign and congested area. These experts are to be of the same nationality as the groups they serve. By supplementing the school's hygiene program with a community health program

the Service Council expects to improve health conditions in Hastings.

VI. *Adult Education.* Aim: Through adult education individuals may become better able to earn a living; but far more important than this, through it they may become better able to live.

This division, under the direction of very able leadership, is promoting the adult-education movement in Hastings. The plan was put into operation last month. In Hastings, as well as in other communities, the present economic conditions have given impetus to demands for adult education.

A questionnaire was sent out to discover what courses were in the greatest demand. These courses are scheduled to be taught without compensation by experts who live in the community.

Classes are held in the school building, which is the community center. The school library will be at the disposal of the citizens to supplement the facilities of the municipal library.

The school, too, has organized an adult-education program. Through the efforts of one of the school administrators, an alumni organization, the "Hastings Forum," was formed. Not only do the graduates return to school to renew friendships, but they conduct discussions on current controversial problems and bring in speakers on a variety of subjects.

Hastings-on-Hudson is making a deliberate effort to meet its responsibility as a community. It is fortunate in having so many experts in the fields of social work and related fields to pool their efforts, experiences, and knowledge for the community's welfare without compensation. Furthermore, the school administrators are alert to modify their procedures to meet individual and community needs. The results of the cooperative blending of school and community activities in a unified program are a greater community consciousness and an effective program of community planning and improvement.

THE SCHOOL AS THE CENTER OF THE COMMUNITY

NATHAN PEYSER¹

Principal, P. S. 181, Brooklyn

Executive Director, Flatbush Community League

The plan for delinquency prevention as operating in P.S. 181, Brooklyn, under the guidance of the principal, Dr. Nathan Peyser, was first formulated by him during the years 1914-1915 when he was principal of P.S. 39 in East Harlem. This section was at that time considered the most serious delinquency zone in Greater New York. The purpose of the plan was to combat the causes of juvenile delinquency.

The opening move was the formation of a Child Welfare League among the teachers, which was broken up into various committees. Next, a parents' organization was formed and merged with the teachers' organization, and later, the adjoining school was organized in the same manner. The last step was the fusion of the two school-home organizations into the East Harlem Community Association.

The objectives adopted by this organization were, primarily, to acquaint the people in the community with the nature of the problems that confronted them as individuals and as members of the community, and with possible solutions of these problems. In line with these objectives many projects were carried to completion. For example, a Delinquency Prevention Court composed of two principals, a social worker, and two community representatives was set up. Previous to a discussion of a specific case, all circumstances of the "accused" were investigated—as, home conditions, health, and past behavior—and in the light of the findings a program of action was shaped aiming at a more or less permanent readjustment of the delinquent. Cases were re-

¹As told to L. Louis Labiaux.

ferred to this court by principals, parents, teachers, shopkeepers, and police officials.

A music settlement was formed and the school was developed as a community recreational center. Two other projects of the association were the setting up of a dental clinic and the installation of a school lunch system. The question of monetary support arose and was met by a membership fee of one dollar a year.

When Dr. Peyser was transferred to the position of principal of P.S. 181, Brooklyn, he carried with him this conception of the place of the school in the community. The attack, due to differences in needs and conditions, was opened, naturally, on a different flank from that of East Harlem. The first step was the formation of the Mothers' League which was divided into fifteen committees to deal with such problems as relief, preschool child health, teacher coöperation, social welfare, and parental education. For the necessary financial support there was a membership fee of one dollar. This League secured the following aids to the community a health center with a fully equipped dental clinic under the care of two dentists and a dental hygienist; a clinic for the preschool child and babies; a nursery school with a staff composed of a nutritionist, child educator, nurse, and teachers; and the coöperation of the neighborhood doctors and druggists to such an extent that no family need go without medical aid while waiting for the unraveling of the red tape that is found in all organized charities. In the field of parental education a child-guidance clinic and special classes for parents dealing with child problems have been formed. Afternoon classes for mothers in home economics, home beautifying, interior decoration, and child hygiene are being held in the school. Dramatic and music groups have been functioning since the beginning.

A Men's League has been formed and has been working on a

street safety project. A traffic survey of street crossings was taken and danger points were brought to the notice of the police. A consideration of the one-way street problem resulted in the installation of a system of traffic control. The coöperation of the Automobile Association of America has been secured.

Out of all this has grown the supervisory body known as the Flatbush Community League which is made up of the Teachers' League, the Mothers' League, the Men's League, and the Junior Service League. This, the Flatbush Community League, is the coördinating factor between the school and the community and its success can be seen in the fact that membership registered twelve hundred adults last year.

For three years this organization has conducted many activities, raising its own funds and even paying for the use of the school building. It was not until April 1935 that the plan was recognized by the Board of Education and the school officially designated a community center and opened to the community between the hours of 8.00 a.m. and 11.00 p.m. without cost. Now the plan has been adopted and is being instituted in many other public schools in the City.

It was during the latter half of the 1934-1935 school year that the Flatbush Community League reached its peak of operation. At that time there were in operation twenty-three classes in adult education. The scope of these classes ranged from health development, languages, music, and drama appreciation to civics, current history, typewriting, and low-cost food production. The community symphony orchestra gave a concert, a play was staged by the mothers, a choral society was formed, and the Flatbush Community Little Theatre became a reality. The Civic Forum met regularly, holding debates of which the most famous concerned socialized medicine and was attended by almost every physician in the community.

Working in close coöperation with the school itself is the

Mothers' Council. Composed of two mothers from each class in the school, this group, one hundred and ten women, works directly with the teachers. If, for instance, a class is to go on a field trip to inspect some industrial process, certain of these mothers arrange for the excursion with the proprietor of the concern. Others go with the teacher to assist in directing and handling the children.

Within the school itself there are various projects at present in process of development. A nature-room museum is being established with the aid of gifts from students and parents, a new library is being formed, and a school farm and garden is being prepared. These things, however, do not indicate that the plan has reached its goal—rather, with the increasing monetary aid from the Board of Education, the program of interaction between school and community will broaden and expand not only in performance but in the interpretation of the relationship of the school to the community. As a result, the people are approaching a closer understanding of the work and problems of the school and they are becoming more eager to co-operate and to support the program.

How do we justify this extension of the school's activities? From the standpoint of the prevention of juvenile delinquency (the first step on the road to crime) we must attack before any overt evidence of criminality crops up. "The fundamental factor in delinquency prevention is the development of socially adequate behavior patterns, proper ways of living, of wholesome personality and character attributes."¹

But what agency can do this? The answer is not that there is *an* agency, but that *all* the agencies in the community must work together to achieve this end and that the school should be the integrating and motivating factor.

¹ Nathan Peyser, "The School as the Center in the Community" (New York: New York Principals Association, 1934), p. 8

Why should the school be the integrating agency? Because the school has access to every home in the community; because of its nonsectarian, nonpartisan nature it has the confidence of all groups; and because it is regarded as an integral part of life, not only of the community, but also of the State. By delegating to the school the coördinating responsibility we do not advocate a paternalistic community-school relationship, but a policy whereby the family and community can be led to assume their responsibilities coöperatively. This should not mean that the present staff of teachers and administrators should assume the additional burdens of afterschool activities, the program will necessitate the employment of additional teachers, supervisors, and leaders trained especially for community service.

We are told not to ask for additional funds for education in times like these, and in answer it is possible to point out that we spend for the detection and punishment of crime in these times eight and one-half times the sum we spend for education! Will any one question the wisdom of utilizing part of that money on a community-school program which will be a twenty-four-hour-a-day, three-hundred-sixty-five-days-a-year fight, not against crime, but against the causes of crime? In a program such as we have described here we have a force for the good, not only of the community and the individuals, but also of the State and Nation.

THE SOUTH JAMAICA COMMUNITY LEAGUE

SAMUEL M. LEVENSON

Principal, Junior High School 40, New York

President, South Jamaica Community League

It is interesting, as we look back over the last one hundred years, to note what an astoundingly increased share of the responsibilities of the home has been assumed by the public schools of our nation. The schools, at the beginning of the century, were concerned primarily with the raising of the level of intelligence of the students and with the guaranteeing of literacy. The problem of fitting the children to live in the community was no immediate concern of the schools.

The homes, in those days, exercised a tremendous influence upon the children. The family ties were strong and bound together the members of the family into a unified and mutually dependent group.

The changes in industrial, economic, and social conditions that have taken place in recent years, however, have lessened the influence of the home upon the pupils. There grew up at the same time the belief that the schools were the natural place for doing many things that were formerly done for the pupils by the home and the other agencies of the community. There grew up, too, the belief that all social ills could be remedied by better training of the youth by a process of adapting schools to changing social needs in the light of changing social conditions.

It is not necessary for us to explain the reasons for these conditions. We all recognize the fact that there is not an important factor today involved in the art of living in the world outside of the schools that is not a direct responsibility of the school. Accordingly, to function effectively the school must recognize the necessity of performing much that is beyond the defined functions of the school. It must arouse the interest of the community in the welfare of the children. It must awaken the con-

science of the members of the community to the needs of its particular members in the matter of health, of recreation, of vocational education, of adult education, of the use of leisure time, and of character building.

With this basic philosophy of school and community relationship in mind, the writer undertook at the outset of his principalship of the junior high school in South Jamaica, New York, to organize a community league of all the people in the community.

It would be well, in order to understand intelligently the nature of this league, to get a picture of the community itself.

Junior High School 40 is located in South Jamaica, in one of the poorer sections of New York City. It has a population of approximately eight thousand persons, of whom about seventy-five per cent are colored, 10 per cent Italian, 10 per cent Polish, and 5 per cent Jewish, Irish, German, Chinese, etc.

Most of the homes are small, poor, two-family houses. Many of the homes are mere hovels, in which beauty does not enter and in which it is difficult to conceive that neighborliness and cleanliness can flourish. The entire section around the Long Island railroad tracks is one of abject poverty. It is the type of neighborhood which tends to make people slovenly, quarrelsome, immoral, and unappreciative of beauty. Crime statistics for that area show a greater per capita crime than anywhere else in the entire borough of Queens.

There are, further, no improvements worthy of the name in the community. Many streets are still unpaved. Sewerage is either deficient or wholly lacking. There are no parks and, what is even more serious, no appropriate play space for the children.

It became evident to the writer that the children of the schools with whom he was primarily concerned were moving about in an atmosphere that was a focal point for the development of juvenile delinquency. It became evident to him, too,

that something had to be done not only for the children, but for the parents as well, to help them, in spite of their surroundings, to live cleanly and happily as law-abiding citizens. That something was the development of the Community League.

In organizing the League, the writer called together at various times the leading doctors, dentists, merchants, teachers, social workers, and ministers with whom he discussed the plan for organizing the people of the community into a group to help them develop physically, culturally, and spiritually. When he had the assurance that the leaders were in accord with his plan, he then issued a call for a mass meeting of the citizens in the community. This meeting was held in the auditorium of the Junior High School and was attended by almost a thousand men and women.

The plan of the League was outlined by the writer, who was elected president. This plan called for a five-point program: First, the establishment of an adult-education center for all the men and women of the community; second, the acquisition of land for the establishment of play space for the boys and girls—especially those adolescent boys and girls who, finding no place to play wholesome games under the direction of trained individuals, were resorting to unwholesome games under the direction of gang leaders of the worst type; third, the replacing of the slum area with better housing; fourth, the establishment of health clinics in the neighborhood with the doctors, dentists, druggists, and nurses of the community volunteering their services at the very outset of the project; fifth, the beautifying of the entire section by paving streets, by planting trees in sections now barren and desolate, and by erecting parks where the people could sit and be at one with God.

The men and women of the League organized themselves into committees to carry out the work. There was great enthusiasm in the work, for it seemed to many of these people that a

new ray of light had suddenly shone in upon them.

To date, the first objective of the League is a reality. There has been opened up through the good graces of the Board of Education of the City of New York an adult-education community center. Courses are offered in English, French, Italian, choral music, Negro history, family law, health education, domestic science, and dressmaking. These courses are well attended. The adult students are happy to have the opportunity of acquiring an education. The appreciation of the work done for them is being reflected in the great interest that they are beginning to manifest in the work of their children in school.

The second objective is now under way. Unfortunately, the city fathers do not seem to be anxious to help in this important work. It seems to the writer to be the outstanding tragedy of this age that legislators will concern themselves with the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars for punitive measures against offenders of society and yet lack the vision to spend a comparatively few million of dollars for preventive measures, such as playground facilities. It surely cannot be possible that our New York City legislators are unaware of the survey which showed that the section in the City which had the poorest playground facilities was found to have the highest crime rate per capita of any section in the City. Perhaps some outside agencies will join in with the League in this important undertaking.

The children of the school, however, are not entirely neglected. As an additional project there are now about to be organized community clubs in the school. The organization of these clubs has already been effected by the writer, who, as principal of the school, is the supervisory head of the community project. The school will be open from Monday to Friday, inclusive, for this work and it will be carried on after school; that is, from three to five. There will be instruction given in tap dancing for the future Bill Robinsons and Eleanor Powells in

our midst, in social dancing, in basketball, handball, baseball, touch football, volley ball, and other seasonal athletic activities. There will be classes of instruction in the piano, in the violin, and in brass instruments. There are to be Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, and harmonica clubs. To date 683 boys and girls have registered with the writer for these clubs. This number does not represent all who are interested. Many hundred have been temporarily turned away because of the lack of room in a building which is inadequate in size and which has poor gymnasium and play facilities for the number of pupils in the school.

The school has taken the leading part in helping the community because it is, substantially, the one agency, apart from the church, that exercises a wholesome influence upon the parents. Its influence is the more powerful because of the fact that it is in direct communication with the home for five days of the week. That the school's part is effective in this entire program is attested by the unstinted praise and genuine good will of all the parents in the community and by the response of the children themselves, who have acquired a sense of responsibility and wholesome respect for law and order never before manifested by them. There has been a marked falling off in cases of stealing and lying. More and more the children are learning to control their tempers and, what is more significant to the writer, to smile, no matter what tasks are assigned to them. There has been a cessation of crap games and of street fighting, of stealing. Thus, through the medium of the school as the center of the cultural life of the community, there is developing in South Jamaica a spirit that is making the adults, as well as the children, a healthier and happier group.

JERSEY CITY'S SCHOOL-COMMUNITY PROGRAM

K. L. THOMPSON

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Schools serve a community in at least four ways: (1) by instructing youth along traditional lines during the ages usually devoted to formal instruction, (2) by providing opportunity for adults and adolescents to acquire an education *de novo* or to resume an interrupted education; (3) by providing equality of educational opportunity for handicapped youth of all types; (4) by providing out-of-school opportunities for youth to develop character and social traits and practices that will make the community a better place in which to live.

Jersey City provides the traditional elementary and secondary education from the kindergarten through the twelfth year, with additional offerings of manual training, home economics, and vocational training in the elementary field, and with a broad offering of industrial subjects for both sexes in the secondary field.

Jersey City provides for the education of the foreign born, the illiterate native-born adult, and the youth whose elementary education is incomplete by evening elementary schools in various parts of the city. For adults and adolescents, who may or may not have completed the elementary school, who wish to continue their education on a secondary level in chosen subjects for personal improvement and greater efficiency, the city maintains an evening commercial high school and an evening technical and industrial high school. Both of these are nonaccredited, so far as higher education is concerned.

For the adult or adolescent who has completed the elementary school and who wishes credit toward a diploma or for admission to institutions of higher learning, Jersey City maintains an evening accredited high school. This evening school duplicates the work of the day high schools, and maintains the same

standards. Its credits are of equal rank with those obtained in regular high schools. At the present time, 2,029 students are enrolled in the accredited evening high school. In the ten years of the existence of this school 1,596 persons have completed the course of study and obtained diplomas.

For pupils handicapped by various types of defect, Jersey City is providing special classes and schools. These include classes for the mentally defective, classes for pupils defective in speech, classes for the blind, classes for pupils with defective sight, classes for the deaf, classes for pupils with serious hearing loss, and classes for pupils suffering from cardiac disorders. For pupils physically handicapped, Jersey City maintains the A. Harry Moore School, housed in a building designed for the use of such pupils, and equipped with modern devices for the comfort and treatment of such cases. In this building is also located a class for orthopedic subnormal pupils, a decidedly unique offering in the education of orthopedics.

There are children mentally capable of carrying on school-work whose physical condition confines them to the home or to the hospital. For children confined to the home, a corps of home-instruction teachers carries the school to the home, giving each child as many hours as the teacher's schedule will permit and the child's condition and educational status will warrant. For children confined in the Jersey City Medical Center, instruction is given at the bedside or in special classrooms in that hospital.

For pupils who are failing to make normal progress in their regular work and who could apparently be aided by special attention, coaching groups have been established. Where pupils show evidence of malnutrition due to insufficient or improper feeding, nutrition groups have been set up. These are not separately organized classes, but groups which receive special foods once or twice a day in order to correct the undernourished condition.

A study of delinquency areas in Jersey City showed a large number of overage pupils in such areas. To care for such overage pupils, prevocational classes are maintained in different parts of the city. These classes provide a type of industrial work and modified academic work for some five hundred overage boys and girls, work in which they are interested and wherein they can achieve a measure of success.

A further study of delinquency areas showed a decided lack of recreational facilities in those areas. To provide opportunities for wholesome recreation, for constructive rather than destructive use of youthful energy and enthusiasm, eleven recreational centers are in operation. Here the young people may participate in all types of athletic contests, games, manual work, musical and dramatic activities. The ultimate aim is to extend the facilities of the school so that they will cover all the waking hours of the children of Jersey City and secure the greatest possible return in terms of child betterment from the large investment in buildings and equipment.

All of the offerings for physically and mentally handicapped children, the provisions for overage pupils and those lacking recreational facilities are under the direction of the Bureau of Special Service, a unique organization for the handling of all types of maladjustment. This bureau was organized after the mayor had asked the assistant superintendent of schools to take charge of the city's increasing truancy cases. It was felt that the school system was the logical unit to handle all juvenile cases. truancy and petty misdemeanors were so closely allied that they should be considered phases of the same problem.

The Mayor approved and the Board of Education established in February 1931 the coordinated child-welfare unit known as the Bureau of Special Service. With the assistant superintendent as its head, the Bureau was commissioned to handle all cases of maladjustment, whether found by the school authorities or by

the police. It is the thought of the Mayor of Jersey City that no juvenile delinquent can derive anything but harm from contacts with the criminal class, the courts, and penal institutions. He believes that the juvenile delinquent should be halted in his wayward course and his character developed by means of spontaneous enthusiasm and activity.

To handle cases of maladjustment found by school authorities or police officials, the Bureau has established the following organization: twenty-five attendance officers, six visiting teachers and a supervisor, five plain-clothes officers including a captain; a clinic for physical and mental examinations consisting of a medical inspector, a dental inspector, a nurse, a psychologist, and a psychiatrist. A child is permitted to be taken to a police station, court, or penal institution only when it has become very evident that he is a chronic offender and a menace to other children in the neighborhood. Instead of going to police station, court, or penal institution, the child is called before a conference of the Bureau with the parents. Parental responsibility is emphasized in such conferences and proceedings are instituted under the Child Welfare Act against parents who shirk this responsibility.

The idea of this method of procedure is to secure a thorough investigation of the home, school, and leisure activities as well as of the physical, mental, and emotional condition as causal factors of the maladjustment. Two types of cases come before this Bureau, according to origin, the method of handling each type of case being somewhat different.

Cases of maladjustment arising in the schools are reported to the Bureau with a complete statement of school history, personality traits, recreational habits and interests, and special indications of maladjustment. The case is then referred to a visiting teacher for investigation of home and school conditions and a weekly follow-up is made. In the light of information thus secured, a complete clinical examination of each child is scheduled.

These cases are discussed at weekly conferences and methods of handling developed. In many cases, such pupils are transferred to existing special classes and schools.

Cases of maladjustment arising within police jurisdiction are handled somewhat differently. The child detected in or suspected of breaking a law is escorted home by the police officer, who secures the name, age, address, and school of the child. The officer reports these facts and the nature of the offense to the police captain assigned to the Bureau. Parents are then summoned to a conference at the Bureau, where they are required to furnish information concerning the whole environment of the child. They are advised as to the ultimate results of waywardness and given constructive advice about handling the child. Follow-up visits are made to the house and school by plain-clothes men as long as the need exists. Only when these measures fail to check the delinquency is the child taken to the juvenile court where the question of commitment is decided by the judge.

In addition to the work with handicapped groups of all kinds, the Bureau of Special Service has a major concern with problems of attendance and of social attitude. Absence is a variable largely uncontrollable due to conditions, but truancy is a controllable variable. In the ten-year period beginning September 1925, the highest number of cases of truancy occurred in the year 1930-1931, the year in which the Bureau of Special Service was organized. In that year, truancy accounted for 16.7 per cent of all cases of absence. Since then, with the exception of one year, truancy has shown a steady decline. In the year 1934-1935, there were 1,209 fewer cases of truancy than in the peak year, and the percentage has steadily declined to 8.8 per cent, a decrease of 47.3 per cent. In the same decade, the number of cases taken to court reached its peak in 1929-1930. Since then, with the exception of one year, there has been a steady decline. In that year, 1934-1935, there were 781 less cases taken to court than

in the peak year, or a decline of 87 per cent.

The change in commitments to institutions since the establishment of the Bureau of Special Service is significant. Using the experience of the five years preceding the establishment of the Bureau as a basis, there would have been 2,347 commitments during the four and one-half years closing June 30, 1935. Instead there were 460 commitments, 268 of which were police cases, and 192 attendance cases. In the year 1934-1935, there were only 34 commitments arising from police cases, 29 of which were made by the Judge of the Juvenile Court upon the findings of the Bureau, without the appearance of the child in court. Some idea of the amount of work done by the Bureau is shown by the fact that in 1934-1935 there were referred to the Bureau 2,417 cases of truancy, 1,555 police cases, and 424 visiting-teacher cases. In the same year the Bureau made 1,155 physical examinations, 434 psychological examinations, held 506 psychiatric interviews, and had 163 individuals receiving psychiatric care.

A democratic society is duty bound for the sake of its own welfare to provide equality of educational opportunity, basic social integration, provision for individual differences, and constructive social adjustment. In its educational organization, Jersey City has provided the machinery for realizing these objectives. Careful supervision, efficient personnel, and community coöperation will make the organization effective.

A PRACTICAL GUIDANCE PROGRAM FOR A LARGE CITY HIGH SCHOOL¹

ELSA G. BECKER

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Samuel J. Tilden High School, New York

Only when a guidance program in all its theoretical splendor survives the hard knocks of reduced budgets, vested interests, rigid curricula, too many students of too many differing interests and abilities, too few teachers, outworn traditions, antiquated administrator and teacher attitudes—to mention but a few sour realities—does it become a practical program.

Therefore this article deals with guidance in the past tense rather than the future, as it has been found to work in one place at least. That place is a high school both large and urban, inasmuch as it accommodates 7,000 boys and girls, engages 250 teachers, operates on double session, offers the general and commercial courses, and is situated in New York City.

Three years ago a licensed vocational and educational counselor was assigned to the Samuel J. Tilden High School and was made responsible for coördinating existing advisory activities (which were spread over some twenty odd individuals) and for supplementing and extending the program. The general objective of the work is to ensure to every student the opportunity for the kind of high-school education best suited to his individual abilities and needs. This necessitates furnishing him with educational and vocational information and insight into his own distinctive characteristics, which will be helpful to him in making decisions and in helping him to use such information and insight in making future decisions for himself.

Underlying this objective was the belief that education should be conceived of in terms of individual growth and adjust-

¹ The complete report of this program, under the title *Guidance at Work* by Elsa G. Becker, has been published by the High School Division, Board of Education, 500 Park Avenue, New York. 125 pages, thirty cents

ment, rather than students' progress as measured by rigid academic standards.

The counselor, believing in this goal, set to work. The school was new to her and she had to get the "feel" of it; to become acquainted with its personnel, organization, standards, and traditions before a course of action could be planned in any detail. The means selected for learning about the school and its program was the unoriginal one of studying the students who applied for transfer out of the school for whatever reason and those who were not maintaining themselves scholastically—in other words the "drop-outs" and "failures." The approach to the school might have been made in any number of ways; truants might have been studied, or cutters, or freshmen, or entrants from junior high schools, or gifted students, or students of low I Q. The main point is that the counselor studied and treated intensively each individual not only on the basis of records and reports but through personal interview with student, parents, teachers, and community agencies wherever necessary. This provided an opportunity to survey the school and the community, to become acquainted with them, and to demonstrate guidance as focused upon the individuals. At the same time intrinsically valuable work was accomplished.

On the basis of this introductory project a long-time plan was made providing broadly for work with certain types of individuals and with certain groups—with faculty, parents, and community agencies, providing, too, for certain remedial, preventive, and constructive types of activity.

It included provision for individual guidance, group guidance, modification of the school environment, record, and some research.²

² For details of the plan see Elsa G. Becker, "First Annual Report of the Guidance Department of the Samuel J. Tilden High School," *High Points*, November 1933, p. 24 ff.

But the best of plans remains a rosy dream until means are sought and found which will make it a reality. Obviously there had to be a sufficient staff of counselors to carry out the plan. There was no use in asking for the appointment of additional licensed counselors by the board of education in a time of educational retrenchment. The only possibility was to make a reassignment of positions within the existing faculty; and this was done. Six teachers were thus made available, necessitating an increase in the pupil period load of the remaining teachers to the extent of approximately one pupil to each class. On the point of increase in class units Mr. John M. Loughran, principal of the school, has said:

The question resolves itself, perhaps, into one of relative values. From my point of view the returns of a guidance service in terms of benefit to students amply compensate for the relatively slight increase in class size. Also, the hundreds of adjustments that have been effected and the motivation of school work thus provided, with consequent improvement of classroom activity, more than offset the quantitative consideration.⁸

Having made this decision it was necessary to select teachers who gave promise of becoming good counselors. The large high school has an advantage over the small one in this matter because of its greater elasticity of organization. The preliminary survey of the first five months made it possible to become sufficiently acquainted with individual teachers to estimate their aptitude for the work of guidance. It was possible to select three, and later an additional three teachers with sufficient teaching, business, and social-work experience as well as the more important professional attitudes, sympathies, and emotional stability to undertake the responsibilities of guidance. Although it was felt that broad powers of intellect, interest, energy, and enthusi-

⁸ Elsa G. Becker, "Guidance in the Large High School," *High Points*, June 1934, p. 13.

asm were to be preferred to specific skills without these qualities, it was necessary to look in several cases for technical expertness with the highly complex program of study of the school.

In addition to these six counselors withdrawn from the teaching body, two of whom were men and four women, there was a placement counselor and two clerical assistants. All were under the direction of the chairman of the department, the only licensed counselor in the group.

The guidance department of the school, therefore, consisted of ten individuals who gave full time to the work of the department.

Most of their time—a rough estimate would be two thirds—was devoted to work with individual students, the rest to conferences and investigations, and projects which are described in the complete report of this program. How were the individual students selected? Certainly eight counselors could not undertake to interview, individually, all the 7,000 students of the school.

Teachers, administrators, community agencies, and parents were invited to refer students to the department, students themselves were encouraged to come on their own initiative; and some were called by the department. During the first year 1,089 students were referred, during the second 2,962, an increase of 172 per cent in the second year over the first. In the cases of 845 students referred the first year it was considered necessary to continue guidance during the second year. Therefore 3,807 students were individually counseled during the second year, 60 per cent of the student body at the main building. Each counselor working at top speed had under his or her care, during some or all of last year, about 450 students.

Of the students referred, approximately 14 per cent (405) were sent by administrators, teachers, parents, fellow students, and community agencies; 42 per cent (1,245) came on their own

initiative, and 44 per cent (1,312) were sent for by the guidance department.

The students referred to the department by faculty, parents, agencies, or fellow students came predominantly for vocational and educational guidance. Other lesser causes for referral were physical handicap, social-economic condition, aggressive or withdrawing types of behavior, and emotional instability.

Students referred themselves in 1,226 out of 1,245 cases (98 per cent) for educational and vocational guidance of kinds ranging all the way from selecting subjects and courses within the school to planning vocational training upon graduation.

The guidance department itself sent for 1,312 students. The largest number was called for educational guidance with particular reference to the program of studies carried in the school. A review which the counselors made of the program plans of students of the respective grades made necessary a volume of counseling suggested by inadequate or ill-advised plans which will not occur again if the guidance program as a whole functions.

The counseling of 271 students for serious scholastic failure represents a type of remedial work with which guidance is too often exclusively identified. Because of the conviction that the function of a guidance department should be predominantly preventive and constructive, it is gratifying to be able to report that work of this type during the second year covers 9.2 per cent (as compared with 31.8 per cent the previous year) of the counseling initiated by the department. This in spite of the fact that selections were made on identical bases each year, failure in three or more major subjects at the end of the term. It has been the consistent policy of the department at the outset of each term to offer individual counsel to students with such a record of failure. Therefore it is to be expected—and hoped—that the drop from 347 to 271 students in this instance to some extent accrues from

the guidance process over the entire period.

The counseling of 336 first-term students selected on the basis of scholastic difficulty early in the fall term 1933 and the spring term 1934 represents part of the plan to emphasize guidance for new entrants. The indications of difficulty were failure or doubtful achievement in two or more major subjects at the end of the first six weeks of the term. The major objective with these students was to prevent further failure by means of timely adjustments.

The counseling of 3,807 students entailed many contacts and processes, chief among them the personal interview. Counselors conducted over 15,000 interviews with students, parents, teachers, and agency representatives. The average number of interviews per student was four. The types of treatment included physical adjustment in the home, emotional adjustment, tutoring, instruction in study methods, placement in a job, teacher coöperation, vocational planning, and educational planning. When the focus is shifted from the class unit to the individual pupil, it becomes apparent that education is a complex process that has intimate cause-and-effect relationships with all aspects of child and community life.

In 1,731 contacts with 280 agencies it was possible to secure from the community considerable assistance leading to the adjustment of pupils treated by the guidance department. These contacts are classified as follows:

If education is concerned with the adjustment of the individual, then the utilization of community resources is an important phase of the school program.

So much for individual counsel, provision for which is the distinctive function of a guidance program. The counselor becomes for the individual student a specialist in coördination, taking the facts supplied by teacher, parent, social worker, psychiatrist, doctor, psychologist, and coördinating them to the best interests of

<i>Classification of Agencies</i>	<i>Number of Cases in Which Agencies</i>			
	<i>Number of Agencies</i>	<i>Number of Contacts</i>	<i>Rendered Service</i>	<i>Were Unable to Render Service</i>
Health (hospitals, clinics, organizations for special disabilities) . .	31	147	109	1
Emotional Health (child-guidance and mental-hygiene clinics)	15	181	82	24
Employment (employers, employment bureaus) . .	59	125	52	58
Social Welfare (child-caring agencies)	17	224	111	3
Family Welfare (social and charity organizations and agencies)	21	280	102	19
Vocational Adjustment (special bureaus and clinics)	10	141	99	0
Recreation (clubs, camps)	15	68	50	3
Adult Education . .	3	18	18	0
Religious	1	1	1	0
Government (PWA, CCC, Coast Guard, Civil Service, etc.)	10	14	10	4
Miscellaneous	15	28	20	2
Schools Public	49	446	284	93
Private, professional, technical, special . .	34	58	37	6

boy or girl, evaluating and weighing facts one against another so as to assist in the formulation of plans of action.

But because of limitations of the size of the guidance staff, the most practicable means of ensuring guidance to the entire

student group and of giving adequate consideration to special groups as well as to individuals seemed to be delegating certain guidance functions to special groups within the faculty.

This plan was also considered to be a safeguard against the danger, inherent in the establishment of a body of specialists, of encouraging too great dependence upon those specialists. Such result in a high school might do much to thwart the proper functioning of guidance and of secondary education conceived as a social process, for guidance is peculiarly dependent for success upon the active coöperation of homeroom teachers, subject teachers, administrators, and counselors. Guidance, as a state of mind to be expected of every member of the high-school staff, must be differentiated clearly from service to be performed by trained counselors. This general guidance-mindedness implies guidance duties on the part of teachers and administrators as well as counselors and will never develop if the entire responsibility is shifted to the shoulders of the guidance specialists.

It was decided therefore to coördinate the work of the 155 homeroom teachers of the school with that of the guidance department. A series of three conferences led by counselors was organized in fifteen groups in order to accommodate the double session on which the school operates, to bring together in separate groups teachers of similar grades, and to keep the groups small enough to encourage general discussion. The success which it is felt attended the holding of these meetings was due as much to the generous spirit with which the homeroom teachers coöperated as to the careful preparation of the conference material by the counselors.

An immediate result of these conferences was the greater ease and skill with which the teachers were able to conduct homeroom discussion and advise individual members of their classes on educational plans. There was also created a better understanding of the guidance department's functions.

The conferences are to be continued and extended in the future to include, eventually, types of information and training which go beyond the predominantly scholastic concerns of students and teachers. In this way the guidance department will undertake group counsel, which is one of its rightful responsibilities, through the medium of the homeroom teachers. The outcome, it is thought, will be to integrate guidance with general educational philosophy and practice by developing among teachers and counselors common aims and understanding to the end that the guidance program may be a practical, effective, school-wide force for coördination and adjustment.

With some such plan as has been outlined briefly in this paper, based on sound principles, with direction by an experienced counselor, with a slightly increased teaching load to permit the withdrawal of selected teachers for full-time counseling, and the strong, watchful, active support of the principal of the school, guidance has been a practical reality in a large city high school.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN CHICAGO

A study is being carried on at the University of Chicago by Mr. Robert C. Jones dealing with changes in the life of the Mexican immigrants as they move from their home communities in Mexico to an urban industrial environment in the United States, such as is represented by Chicago.¹

Attention, in general, has been centered on the religious traditions, customs, and attitudes of the immigrants, although the point of view taken is that no aspect of life can be understood adequately if considered in isolation.

The study begins with a consideration of the cultural background of the immigrants as revealed through life-history materials and reports of ethnographers. Statistical data regarding the movement and distribution of Mexicans in the United States and in Chicago are then analyzed. Interviews, general observations, and case studies are utilized for the purpose of determining the significance of migration experiences in the development and change of personality. A sociological survey is also being made of the various Mexican colonies in the city, emphasis being placed on the origin and development of immigrant institutions and the part which they play in the organization of the immigrant community and in the general growth of the city.

The materials include ethnographical observations, personal documents revealing the experiences of individual immigrants, case studies of institutions, maps, statistical and ecological data, a collection of immigrant publications, and letters from former immigrants who have returned to Mexico.

¹ This statement provided through the courtesy of Mr. Robert C. Jones, department of sociology, University of Chicago.

ECOLOGICAL STUDIES IN DETROIT

Among the numerous ecological studies of great cities and metropolitan regions which are being undertaken by scholars working in connection with departments of sociology in various universities and colleges are those under the supervision of Professor R. D. McKenzie of the University of Michigan.²

Under Professor McKenzie's direction a rather comprehensive plan of regional research has been undertaken in the Detroit area, beginning with the external aspects of the region and working up into the cultural and social psychological fields. The plan is to make these studies of a continuous nature so that eventually it will be possible to observe the trends in development of some of the factors involved.

In carrying out this plan students in the department are participating in the following studies:

"Tax delinquency in Royal Oak, Detroit city finances, Hungarians in Detroit, Detroit motor routes, Detroit churches, juvenile delinquency in Detroit, Detroit border cities relationships, Detroit labor market, Detroit banking, party organization in Detroit, Detroit business subcenters, Detroit policing, Detroit Metropolitan Region, blighted areas of Detroit, Detroit subcenters, urban geography of Detroit, Detroit female correctional institutions, juvenile delinquency, prostitution in Detroit, Detroit City planning, Detroit home-mortgage foreclosures, geography of rural community, Negro gambling, residential succession, location of kinds of industries in Detroit, employee representation in the automobile industry in Detroit, changing industrial relations in Detroit 1900-1933 as shown in *Selected Industries*, the importance of foreign trade to the Detroit industrial area, changes in development and functional relationships of institutions dealing with atypical children in the Detroit area from 1900-1935, race, color, and economic status in factors in electoral motivation in Detroit, press and politics in Detroit, health conditions of and medical services available to the Negro in the City of Detroit, the Negro voter in Detroit 1928-1932, functional areas of Detroit prior to 1933."

² The following statement was furnished through the courtesy of Professor R. D. McKenzie, department of sociology, University of Michigan.

BOOK REVIEWS

Psychological Foundations of Education, by J. STANLEY GRAY.
New York. American Book Company, 1935, 534 pages.

The treatment is presented in two parts. The first dealing with the nature of man from the viewpoint of the more basic sciences, and the second part with the nature of education from the pragmatic viewpoint of objective psychology. Psychology is applied to educational principles of a foundational character rather than to specific classroom procedures. Education is viewed from the psychological viewpoint. Concepts of objective science are used as criteria by which the principles of education were evaluated and reinterpreted. The author has developed an interpretation of education which is in harmony with the postulates and conclusions of objective psychology. Throughout, one can trace the influences of Weiss and Bode.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education, by MICHAEL DEMIASHKEVICH. New York. American Book Company, 1935, xiii+449 pages.

The author, a graduate of the Imperial Historico-Philological Institute of Petrograd, brings to his project not only a vigorous philosophy of his own and a truly monumental scholarship but also a detachment that permits him to view the present problems and experiments and trends in educational practices and theories impartially and incisively. He does not present one point of view or a single set of criteria by which to evaluate the educational program. Instead he leads the reader to become familiar with many philosophical approaches to present-day conditions and to consider the adequacy and wisdom of the proposed solutions to the problems involved in them.

A Study of Library Reading in the Primary Grades, by C. DEWITT BONEY. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, 70 pages.

Through a careful study of the professional literature, a selected list of courses of study, and a teachers' questionnaire primarily selected for the purpose, the author has analyzed the objectives of library reading in the primary grades and the techniques used in conducting library reading programs. As a result of the analytic study made of theory and practice relative to library reading on the part of primary-school chil-

dren the author presents practical recommendations dealing with the work of the teacher and of the children, materials and equipment most useful, and most usable techniques.

Sanity First, by JOSEPH JASTROW. New York: Greenberg and Company, 1935, 320 pages.

This volume deals with the art of sensible living. There are discussions on accepting our endowments, employing our resources, regulating our beliefs, handling our liabilities, and patterning our explanations. The volume is written in an interesting style. It is intended for the layman rather than for the expert.

The Teaching of Literature, by REED SMITH. New York: American Book Company, 1935, 485 pages.

Those who see in literature primarily a body of subject matter to learn, a discipline to be mastered, a *corpus* to dissect, will praise and prize Professor Reed Smith's *The Teaching of Literature*. Here are the old standbys, clearly, freshly, and persuasively refurbished by an experienced teacher, with a consistent, unwavering faith in his viewpoint. His viewpoint is that literature must be studied, analyzed, outlined, that words must be defined and figures of speech explained, that paraphrasing, *précis* writing, memorizing, reading aloud ("Start at the front of any row of seats and read down the row from one pupil to the other, each student in turn reading one stanza") should be done—all this, apparently, before pleasure and appreciation can be secured. There is a sensible chapter on tests, and a helpful one on outside reading—though the author assumes a queerly condescending attitude toward outside reading. The radio and photoplay are dismissed in one paragraph.

Personality Maladjustments in Mental Hygiene, by J. E. WALLACE WALLIN. A textbook for psychologists, educators, counselors, and mental-hygiene workers. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1935, xii+511 pages.

This volume is the outcome of a first-hand investigation of numerous cases of mental defects, disabilities, and adjustment difficulties, and of a vast amount of reading in the field. The manuscript first appeared in the form of lectures which were offered to both university students and popular audiences. The case work includes over thirteen thousand exam-

inations of children subject to all kinds of handicaps and disabilities referred by schools, courts, social agencies, homes, and other organizations.

The author begins with a preliminary exposition of the positive concept of mental health and the wholesome personality, the different objectives and factors of the mental-hygiene program, and the types of cases with which mental hygiene is concerned, and then proceeds to a detailed discussion of the symptoms of personality maladjustments as they are revealed in the numerous faulty and unwholesome reaction patterns that unadjusted or poorly adjusted people, or even apparently well-adjusted people, utilize in the effort to solve their problems. The author considers the values and possible virtues of each motive and adequate response and the remedial measures required to correct it.

The Growth of American Higher Education: Liberal, Professional, and Technical, by ELBERT VAUGHAN WILLS. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1936.

A very concisely written book dealing with the development of our American pattern of higher educational institutions—the colonial college, the several types of State educational institutions, the denominational college, professional, and technical training, urban and municipal colleges and universities, the junior college, higher education of women, graduate training and research, and the evolution of the collegiate curriculum. While one regrets that the volume is not comprehensive enough to constitute a complete treatise of this important field, it would be difficult to do a better job of simple concise writing; thus giving the beginning student a very good conception of the chief divisions of effort in this field.

The American College and University, A Human Fellowship, by CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935, 244 pages.

This book looks at the problems of higher education from the standpoint of the college president's office. Its author, well known already as a writer of books in this field, puts into this last book much of the collected wisdom of a lifetime in regard to college and university administration. He deals with personal problems and issues, rather than with facts, figures, and statistics. Such topics as financial relations, the faculty, the students, fraternities, athletics, the library, the further

education of graduates and others are treated. The sublegend in the title *A Human Fellowship* gives the keynote to the treatment and method.

On Writing the Biography of a Modest Man, by ROLLO W. BROWN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935, 49 pages.

In the midst of our science and systems involving groups and categories, it is well that we should occasionally turn to the personality of a socialized individualist who loves his fellowman and who uses judgment which he has developed by diverse and generous experiences in dealing with him. The objectivity of science needs balancing by occasional emphasis on subjective, propulsive attitudes of magnanimous men. In this little volume, Mr. Brown gives us a series of vignettes of Dean Briggs, affectionately known by all Harvard men and Radcliffe women over fifty years of age—and many younger ones. He was a rare person and a kindly guide for thousands of youths.

The State in Theory and Practice, by HAROLD J. LASKI. New York: The Viking Press, 1935, 299 pages.

Mr. Laski's book is a thorough and realistic analysis of the place and function of the state in modern society. Beginning with a refutation of the idealistic concept of the state as formulated by Hegel—that the state is above society and its inner conflicts and as such as an impartial instrument of order and justice—Professor Laski conclusively proves that such an impartial state never existed in reality, that it cannot exist in a society where class interests are in opposition to one another. The state, Professor Laski maintains, is simply a coercive instrument in the hands of the class that owns the means of production, for the purpose of keeping the exploited class in subjection.

Challenge to Death, by STORM JAMESON, *et al.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1935, ix+ 343 pages.

It is seldom that a compilation by more than a dozen writers has the unity of point of view which is shown in this volume. Although each article gives a different approach to the problem, each is an earnest appeal for peace based upon the experiences prior to and including the events of the last war.

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EDITORIAL

NATIONALISM'S CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION

"The most significant emotional factor in public life today is nationalism. Of the current age it is the mark at once intense and universal."

It is with this statement that Hayes began his *Essays on Nationalism* written just ten years ago. How much more true it is today! This short decade has witnessed the violation of treaties, the flaunting of armament agreements, the rapid growth of fascism with its ruthless acceptance of the principles of supremacy and aggression, and the almost complete collapse of the League of Nations. The world today stands tense, afraid.

In the United States this same decade has brought with it a twofold development. On the one hand, there has been a consistent growth of a chauvinistic type of nationalism. It has found its most specific expression in the increasing criticism on the part of certain patriotic organizations and groups of our public schools and institutions of higher learning. The extent of this growing emotionalism is shown in the enactment of teachers' oath laws in twenty-two States and similar pending legislation in all but three of the remaining States.

On the other hand, there has developed increasingly with the passing of each year the earnest belief that true nationalism rests upon internationalism, that the welfare of the United States can be ensured only by a fair and unprejudiced analysis of the in-

fluences that make for war and peace. The munitions investigation, the peace movements, the rapid growth of organizations for the promotion of international understanding, the active interest of adult study groups in world problems, and the development of specific materials for instruction for both adult and student groups—all are evidences of this increasing emphasis.

No attempt is made in the following articles to appraise these two points of view. Certainly, as is continually pointed out, the fundamental aim of education is the development of the highest type of nationalism—an appreciation of the ideals of democracy not through blind indoctrination but through critical appraisal; a knowledge of our cultural heritage and tradition but also a recognition that to a large extent they are the composite of the heritage and traditions of other peoples; a loyalty to our own nation based upon sincere appreciation of the values accruing from it, actual and potential, rather than upon the belittling of other nations and the inspiring of hatred toward other peoples.

In the sincere belief that education is earnestly seeking to meet the challenge of nationalism, to minimize its chauvinistic character, and instill fundamental recognition that the most sincere loyalty to one's own nation is based upon a knowledge and appreciation of its place in the family of nations, the articles that follow have been prepared.

Unfortunately it was necessary to limit the articles in this issue to the field of formal education. (It is hoped that a future issue may be given to the activities and programs of nonschool agencies and organizations.)

Obviously, it was possible to select only a few school systems. Others are undoubtedly carrying forward the same purposes and ideals with equal earnestness. If the programs presented and the activities described inspire other teachers to carry forward similar activities or suggest concrete plans, then this issue will have accomplished its purpose.

DEVELOPING SYMPATHETIC ATTITUDES TOWARD PEOPLES

RACHEL DAVIS-DUBOIS

Service Bureau in Education in Human Relations

A student in a New England high school—a boy whose name is Cohen—recently won, as a prize for writing an essay on the Peace Pact, a trip to Europe. A leading clubwoman—an active worker for the League of Nations—commented to his teacher: “Too bad the winner isn’t an American. You know what I mean, a Mayflower descendant.”

A well-known Negro concert singer demonstrated to a junior-high-school audience the difference between the usual singing of *Sally Ann* and the unique rhythm which Negroes often give it. When asked about the program a pupil replied: “She sang *Sally Ann* the way Negroes sing it, and then the way Americans sing it.” We might ask, “What makes an American?” since the first boat bringing Negroes to this country arrived in 1619, a year before the Mayflower did, and Jews have been here in numbers since 1655 when the Jewish “Mayflower,” the *St. Caterina*, sailed into New York Harbor.

In a certain school a very fine Latin teacher saw no connection between Tony Cavello in her class and Dante, Michelangelo, or Leonardo da Vinci, but she did—as her conversation about there being so many “Wops” in the school showed—see a very close connection between Tony Cavello and Al Capone.

Such stories of actual situations could be multiplied many times, but for our purpose—that of showing the tendency toward ethnocentrism (that pride in one’s own race or nation which prevents one from seeing the good in other races or nations) which is a part of the whole idea of nationalism—they are sufficient.

It is our economic barriers, however, those barriers which still keep nations separated in a world that—in so far as technologi-

cal inventions go—has been outdated, that cause this tendency toward ethnocentrism, with its resultant conflicts and dangers. But if we are or can be made conscious of those conflicts and dangers, we are likely to conclude that it is only by striving toward a new, creative, and constructive ethnocentrism—an ethnocentrism *plus* as it were, which will permit each nation and each distinct culture group within it to retain a rational pride in its socially valuable ways of thinking and acting, and at the same time to share those ways with others—that any real approach can be made toward internationalism. For, “an important task before the world today is the creation of a new state of mind, a state of mind which will permit an understanding and appreciation of the character, attainments, and traditions of other peoples, and which will transcend national boundaries without seeking to destroy them.”¹

A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOL

In our effort to bring forth this new state of mind, however, we may be on the verge of another Hundred Years' War. Much will be lost during this period of chaos. But just as the monks kept alive, during the Dark Ages, the spark of learning, so the schools today, especially the American free public schools, must bear a large part in the keeping alive of the light of tolerance and understanding.

Why should this be a concern of the school? Dr. Kulp, in his *Educational Sociology*, says that it is the task of public education to assume responsibility for those elements of culture that are not being successfully transmitted by other agencies. The Commission on Social Studies says. “The teaching profession is under obligation to conceive its task in terms of the widest and most fundamental interests of society, ever seeking to advance

¹Henry L. Smith and Sherman G. Crayton, *Bulletin*, Indiana University School of Education, V. 5 (May 1929), p. 9.

the security and quality of living of all the people.”² This “security and quality of living of all the people” is based upon sympathetic attitudes. That these attitudes have not been “successfully transmitted” we can learn—have indeed learned—by giving certain standard attitude tests to pupils, and by observing about us the happening of just such incidents as appear at the beginning of this article.

If, as a result of this concern, our schools are to assume such a responsibility, then we need to set about the process of preparation consciously by (1) making an analysis of the need; (2) making a definite study of the techniques of social psychology required in changing and developing attitudes; and (3) by organizing the activities of the school accordingly.

In its recent publication of results, the commission appointed by the American Historical Association to investigate the teaching of social studies in the schools gives us an analysis of the need. Among its suggested objectives we choose the following: “The Commission deems possible and desirable the steady enlargement of sympathetic understanding . . . among diverse races, religions, and cultural groups which compose the American nation.”³ This it would accomplish by the spread of accurate knowledge concerning the ideals, traditions, and experiences of other peoples and an enlightened attitude involving informed appreciation of the cultural bonds among all nations of the world.

Groups, as the above quoted Commission, as well as many individual educators, have made for us analyses of the need—a need which, according to the Commission, places upon American citizens an “obligation of knowing more, rather than less, of the complex social and economic relationship which bind them to the

²American Historical Association, *Conclusions and Recommendations of Commission on Social Studies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 124.

³American Historical Association, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

rest of mankind."⁴ If we accept the challenge to work aggressively toward this end it would seem that our first obligation is to learn something about the minority groups within our own national life. The social problems growing out of these groups are a constant challenge to our professed idea of neighborliness, of justice, and of democracy.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Leaders in school and community who accept the challenge to do something consciously constructive toward developing sympathetic attitudes should make a definite study of the techniques of social psychology required to change and develop such attitudes. They should also agree upon specific objectives and knowledge goals—that is, generalizations to be aimed at as a result of experiences. This is the task that was undertaken by the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations last year (1934-1935) before it offered its services to fifteen schools in the New York City metropolitan area.

With the teachers involved we decided that we must agree upon the following working theses: (1) The development of more sympathetic attitudes toward peoples is a *major educational objective*, in fact an *obligation*, of our American communities and schools. (2) The experiences planned by us must carry an emotional tone that is strong and driving, because we act not according to what we know, but according to what we feel about what we know. (3) In planning for such experiences as will help to set up sympathetic understandings, we must consider the following theories: (a) an old attitude will persist as long as the individual feels that his own personality gains by it, and (b) a crisis situation in which the old attitudes will not work

⁴See *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933)

R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1929).

will force the individual to adopt a new attitude. (4) No one race is any better than any other race, so far as anybody has ever been able to prove. Most people in every race are about average in intelligence and morals, while each race has a few great men and a few criminals.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ACTIVITIES

Much, we decided, as a result of past experiences in the schools, can be done in an incidental way in the classroom toward enriching the day-by-day classwork, and also by a well-planned use of assembly, homeroom periods, and extracurricular activities. Since by sympathetic attitudes is meant not pity, not toleration, but thinking, feeling, acting together, we made use of the following three approaches in the organization of our activities—which for convenience we have titled intellectual, emotional, and situational:

The Intellectual Approach: Though these three approaches overlap somewhat, it was found that the classroom affords the best opportunity for the intellectual approach. Facts omitted in ordinary textbooks and reading materials about various groups were woven into the regular work. For instance, if a class in American history was having a unit on the American Revolution, it was found possible, without changing the curriculum, for the teacher to call the attention of the students to the fact that the first person to lose his life in the struggle for American independence, Crispus Attucks, was a Negro, that the man who did most to finance the war, giving his whole fortune and consequently dying a poor man, was Haym Salomon, a Jew; that of the important military leaders Baron von Steuben was a German, Pulaski and Kosciuszko were Polish, and Lafayette was French. In the science, music, and art classes, we found that the possibilities were almost endless of calling attention to the contributions that have been made by representatives of various

culture groups. Unfortunately few of these facts are in the usual textbooks, as a survey made by the author of texts in ten senior high schools shows.

The Emotional Approach: We made effective use of the assembly for the emotional approach. As Murphy reminds us in his *Education for World-mindedness*, "since feelings are the springs of conduct" and "any education which neglects them is limited in its effectiveness,"⁵ we see the importance of the kind of experiences that a colorful and dramatic performance can give to the students. We found that when a young Japanese woman demonstrates the beautiful Japanese flower arrangement, or an outstanding Negro author reads selections from the Negro poets, the students have a reaction that they cannot gain by mere reading or by other more or less purely intellectual experiences; similarly, when a dramatic performance is presented the students see new relationships that they might not have seen before. Since many people in witnessing a play feel themselves for the time being to be the characters, actually living the experiences of the personalities in the programs, we found that the assembly afforded opportunities of giving the students the kind of vicarious experiences that tended to modify their emotional attitudes. Especially was this true for those who took part in the dramatic presentations. The students who played the roles of Italian immigrants, telling why they came to America, actually lived, for a brief while, the lives of those immigrants. The Gentiles who acted in a Jewish play would never forget their experiences during the time when they were a part of the ways of thinking, feeling, and acting of that culture group. In addition to this vicarious living we found that there were the benefits accruing from the working and feeling together that all the preparation for the program required, and

⁵Albert J. Murphy, *Education for World-mindedness* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1931), p. 307.

also the benefits to the audience to which was thus offered an opportunity to compare a number of pleasant experiences.

Though each school must organize to suit its own needs, in some of our schools a month was devoted to each of several culture groups, the choices depending upon the groups about which there was evident lack of knowledge or understanding. Several schools found it convenient to build their programs around the calendar. For instance, in October, because of Columbus Day, they presented in as dramatic a way as possible the cultural contributions of the Latin peoples to civilization; in November, because of our first Thanksgiving, the contributions of the British and of the American Indians; in December, because of their Christmas songs and legends, the contributions of the Germans; in February, because of Lincoln's birthday, the contribution of the Negro, and so on. Two assemblies a month were set aside, the first one for a guest speaker, the second for the student's own program on the contributions of whatever culture group was being emphasized for that particular month.

The Situational Approach: By the situational approach we provided situations in which the students might meet members of the various culture groups and thus have an opportunity to put into practice their new attitudes. In most of the schools it was found possible, after assembly, to have a tea at which students met the young Chinese who had taken part in a play, the Jewish rabbi who had introduced the program on the cultural contributions of Jews to American life, or the Negro artist who had talked on the history of portraiture. A student who had first exclaimed, "I have never shaken hands with a Chinese!" found that it did not hurt her. On the contrary, after the fast and exciting basketball game which her school played with a Chinese team from International House, New York, and after the tea and dance that followed, she found meeting Chinese a pleasant experience that definitely changed her attitude toward other

members of that group. In these intimate face-to-face contacts differences that once seemed important were forgotten.

Since we believe that the school cannot solve this problem alone, but only as it works in unity with the community, we multiplied these intimate face-to-face contacts by inviting community leaders to the school functions.

RESULTS

When we consider results it is always difficult to be sure that we have our finger on reality; but subjectively we might repeat some comments made last year by several students at the Englewood, New Jersey, Junior High School: "I discovered that Mexicans are much better than we learned at school," wrote one student; another, "I have changed my attitude toward the Chinese. I never used to go to a Chinese laundry because I was told that if you smiled or laughed they would stab you with a knife. But now I go to see Lee Poy in the afternoon to talk with him." "I learned that other people have contributed just as much as we have to the world," wrote another; and still another, "I believe I have learned to realize that you can't judge a country by one or two persons in it."

A number of teachers have reported the cumulative effect of having many programs—but not too many—along the same line, rather than of having a pageant once a year. Under subjective results, a story of an event that happened in another school will illustrate one result of this cumulative effect. A program was being prepared on the contributions of famous Jews. The student committee had made the tactful ruling that when any "boasting" was to be done about a culture group students of another group should do that boasting. So it happened that two Gentile senior boys were chosen to take the main parts in a Jewish program. One boy refused to believe his teacher, who said that Steinmetz was a Jew, because, admiring that great scientist

greatly, he did not want to give him up from his own group. It was not until the guest speaker for the month—a young rabbi—came that the student was convinced. The months went by and finally the boy, in Washington during cherry-blossom time, was overheard saying how it thrilled him to realize that he belonged to the *human race*, which had such power over nature. When we remember this incident we are reminded of the words of Dr. Adler, the famous Viennese psychologist, "The only true and adequate compensation for our normal feeling of inferiority is the consciousness that we are part of all humanity and of its accomplishments. It is that sense which makes for great achievements and useful and happy lives."

When we consider objective results, we find that there is still much disagreement among educators as to the value of objective tests in the field of attitudes. As a result of our own experience in the schools, however, we feel that experimentation in this field is as important as experimentation in the application of sociological theories. We have used such tests in several schools, during the past seven years, and have always found some change toward more liberal attitudes.

The report of the President's Committee on Social Trends states that minority group problems will become graver and more complicated, and that "there can be no assurance that violent revolution can be averted unless there is a greater integration of social skills and fusing of social purposes than is revealed by recent trends."⁹

Since our Government is consciously working in this direction in industry, should not the public school also become an agency which would consciously have as a major educational objective the integration of our diverse culture groups? Should we not, as educators, recognize and help to preserve the great cultural gifts of the Jew? Should we not give our students the thrill of be-

⁹President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *op cit*, vol. 1, p. xxix

coming acquainted with the marvelous scientific discoveries of Dr. Carver, the Luther Burbank of the Negro race, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of England? Should we not teach them discrimination—that there are Italian artists, singers, scientists, composers, as well as Italian gangsters? Should we not, in short, help them to see that they are one with all humanity, thus “transcending national boundaries without seeking to destroy them?”

Author's Note: The Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations is a nonprofit organization. It is located at 103 West 121st Street, New York City. It aims to be a clearinghouse for schools doing interesting work in the field of developing sympathetic attitudes between cultural and racial groups and would appreciate written accounts of successful activities in this field from teachers throughout the country.

The Bureau is preparing itself to offer, we hope, with increasing efficiency as we acquire both funds and experience, the following services to schools. (1) help to enrich their assembly programs with the cultural resources of the many national groups which make up present-day America, (2) coordinate with this selected central theme enough of the creative homeroom discussions and the classroom activities to make sympathetic attitudes toward other cultural groups a reality in the lives of students; (3) provide social and human contacts for teachers and pupils through planned visits to the schools by leaders, artists, and young people of these cultural groups, (4) orient accessible metropolitan and suburban teachers at first hand in the life, activities, and leading personalities of selected American minorities, (5) promote this work by providing courses for teachers in education for human relations in several demonstration centers and teachers colleges.

At Bureau headquarters, bibliographies, a summary of techniques, theory, objectives, and knowledge goals endorsed by many educators, tested assembly programs, classroom units, and filed references on various cultural groups are available. In addition the Bureau is publishing a series for high schools and general community use on the cultural contributions of the British, Far Eastern, Jewish, Latin, Mexican, South American, Near Eastern, Negro, Slavic, Scandinavian, and Teutonic groups.

WHAT THE ROCHESTER SCHOOLS ARE DOING ABOUT INTERNATIONALISM

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The Rochester school system is engaged in an effort to develop in its pupils a citizenship which replaces emotionalism with thought, prejudice with fact, passive action with creativeness, and blind following with intelligence. Creative citizenship, based upon intelligent application of facts, is the goal. This is the philosophy of the school system, and, as such, is an objective. The objective, however, is not stated in these terms, because it is realized that there are certain skills and appreciations which cannot be taught directly, but must be handled indirectly. In this case, for example, we realize that one does not get far by telling the children of emotional patriots that they must not cheer and madly follow the suggestion of *every* leader who waves the flag; it is not enough to tell pupils that they should listen to the other side of a story, should apply suspended judgment, should appraise the facts, and should always act in the interest of the greatest real good of the American people as a whole. Unfortunately, that *attitude*, that citizenship habit, that freedom from blind emotional patriotism cannot be taught by direct units as such, with their study exercises, readings, and tests. The schools can only lay the groundwork and at every opportunity point to the wisdom of such an attitude, hoping that by such constant effort the senior from high school will become a sane and wise patriot.

Creative citizenship calls for a knowledge of one's entire environment. Today, more than ever, our environment is of world-wide extent. To be ignorant of the international nature of modern society is to be unaware of part of our environment, and

hence less capable of living effectively in it. Teaching the international scope of modern society does not mean to deny nationalism as a factor in the purposes of the modern state, nor does it mean teaching a positive internationalism. It does mean an effort to develop a consciousness of the international nature of present society. That this is recognized by leading educators is shown by the following objective selected from those presented by Herbert S. Weet, in the Seventh Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence:

Advance the child in his ability to know and to appreciate the geography and history of his own community, State, and Nation, and of the world at large; to sense his share in the social, civic, and industrial order of such a democracy as ours, and to meet to the full the obligations which such knowledge and appreciation should engender, to the end that justice, sympathy, and loyalty may characterize his personal and community life.

Among the ultimate objectives of the social studies for our high-school system we find the following given by Alice N. Gibbons in "General Introduction for a Course of Study" (Rochester Syllabus):

A clear understanding of fundamental social principles and tendencies that have influenced, and are influencing, the development of human relations.

Each of these ultimate objectives not only justifies teaching the nature and importance of international interdependence and fellowship, but they require it. The unit objectives of the several syllabi concerned with the problems of nationalism and internationalism are merely specific and detailed objectives fulfilling these curricular aims.

It is important to point out that the aim of teaching a consciousness of the international nature of present society is not undertaken at the behest of any patriotic society or of any group

with maudlin or sentimental aims, or of "Peace At Any Price," "Join the League of Nations," or other special interest groups. The objective has been determined on a basis of scholarship and sound purposive pedagogy; the verities of history, not the pressure of special interests, has determined what to do.

What is done in Rochester, then, to defeat extreme nationalism is to teach a consciousness of the international nature of present society and to strive to build toward a better society through developing in the pupils of today a creative citizenship for tomorrow. This necessitates both direct and indirect education. The direct education is curricular work set up in the syllabus of the school system and aims to give the child an honest factual background from which sound conclusions may flow. This part of the methodology is teacher motivated. The indirect education is semicurricular and extracurricular and is primarily student guided but teacher supervised. The aim of the indirect education is to give the boy and girl practice in certain phases of creative citizenship, such as leadership, organization, research, and the exercise of judgment. The direct types of the education begin early and are for all; the indirect begin later, when the child has some knowledge upon which to work and is for those who are capable of such learning.

Not only does Rochester use direct and indirect methods of education but it also applies the practice of repetition or constancy. We do not feel that this objective can be attained by teaching a "unit of understanding" at some one or two grade levels, and then forgetting the idea. On the contrary, the direct education begins in grade 2A and continues more or less throughout the school career. Once the indirect methods are started, enough opportunities are given the child to engage in it to permit as constant participation as he wishes.

A look at the curriculum and the school offerings will give an idea of *how* the job is done in Rochester.

DIRECT METHODS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The elementary grades in the Rochester schools use a "center of interest" method which may be described as a series of units, one to a semester, devoted to the objective of acquainting the child with a "layer" of his environment. These start in the kindergarten with the child and his immediate environment, and after achieving a certain standard of attainment, are followed successively by centers of interest on the next larger or further "layer" or level of his environment. These, therefore, begin with the child himself and progress through the ever widening environment from the home through the neighborhood, local community, the local farming area, until they finally culminate in the international environment. Within each of these centers of interest there are no "units" in history, and so forth; the center of interest *is* the unit, in which history, geography, reading, and the like are only tools or phases, or both.

A list of those centers of interest which are found in this ever widening circle of child experience follows:

Kindergarten—Home and School Interests

Neighborhood Interests

Grade 1—B Our City

A A Place Near Our City, the Farm

Grade 2—B Our Need for Food, Shelter, and Clothing

A Food and Clothing from Afar

Grade 3—B Homes of People from Far Away

A The World in Which We Live

Grade 4—B Living in Northern and in Southern Regions of the World

A Our City and State, Their Service to People at Home and Abroad

Grade 5—B Our Nation, the United States

A Neighbors and Island Possessions of the United States

Grade 6—B Our European Neighbors

A European Influences in South America and in Africa

Grade 7—B Influences of Leading Nations of the World in the Far East

A World Relationship Through Our Neighbors in the East and in the West

It will be seen that out of sixteen centers of interest in the elementary school, nine have direct bearing upon an understanding of other peoples and our interdependence with them. These are the centers of interest for grades 2A, 3B, 3A, 4B, 5A, and both semesters in each of grades 6 and 7. A review of the list of centers of interest will also indicate that this development of the "consciousness of the international nature of society" is done without in the least minimizing or belittling a study of one's own country, its history and its attributes. Furthermore, the units which give the child an international viewpoint are the more powerful because of their place with the others; for example, "Our Need for Food, Shelter, and Clothing" in grade 2B makes the study of "Food and Clothing from Far Away" much more purposeful.

The techniques used for teaching these centers of interest are of the approved type. Pantomime and drama are used, pictures are studied and drawn, models are made, comparisons and contrasts with ourselves and our country are made. In all cases the emphasis is upon the people and their land as interesting, likable human beings and lovely places. The aim is to make differences not a cause of ridicule and hate but of kindly interest and sympathetic curiosity.

A typical example of this in operation is a pantomime used in the 2A grade in which some children dress in paper costumes of the people of different lands, and others take the part of American men and women. A collection of contributed toys and student-constructed facsimiles is then used to illustrate the exact serviceable exchange of goods between America and other countries. Thus, a little Japanese boy hands a carton labeled "Tea"

to an American boy dressed as a mechanic and in return receives a toy automobile; another foreigner exchanges a typical item of foreign trade for a camera, and so forth until all are well pleased and join hands in a sort of ring-around-the-rosy dance of increased satisfaction and mutual admiration.

Direct methods in the junior high school depend largely upon the social studies. There is an elementary study of American history in grades 8B and A in which a typical unit approach is followed. In grade 8B there is a unit entitled "European Civilization in America Modified by New World Conditions" in which the effort is made to give an appreciation of Europe's contribution to our early culture and beginnings, and also to demonstrate that all of us are foreigners.

The international scene receives its attention in the junior grades at the grade 9 level. Because a reorganization of this grade is now in progress there is not here the uniformity of practice as elsewhere in the curriculum. Some schools follow a social-studies syllabus generally called "Economic Citizenship," in which the child's place in modern society is pointed out, including his place in a world of nations each with advantages for and duties to their neighbors. Other schools are working on a modification of Professor Rugg's junior grades social-studies course, using his volumes 5 and 6, *An Introduction to the Problems of American Culture* and *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*. Educators familiar with the literature on secondary-school social studies will recall that the Rugg course will emphasize at every opportunity the chance to build up an interest in the people who are different from ourselves, and a liking for them. Here are some sample units:

What Part Has the Immigrant Played in Community and Neighborhood Life?

How Have the American People Assimilated Different Nationalities and Races?

How Did Industrial Countries Europeanize the Earth and Produce the World War?

World Conflict *Versus* World Organization—Which Is Preferable?

Reference to the Rugg series will demonstrate the possibility of teaching the difference between nationalism and international coöperation.

DIRECT TEACHING IN THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The senior-high-school offerings in the social studies are:

Origins of Contemporary Civilization—usually in Grade 10

Modern European History—usually in Grade 11

American History and Civics (compulsory)—usually in Grade 12

Economics and Civics—each of one semester, elective and usually in Grade 12

Space does not permit a detailed statement of the syllabi of these courses, but any teacher with a social-studies background and with imagination can realize that the opportunity to stress the objective will range from one unit of study in some semesters to the full course in others. To demonstrate that the Rochester schools utilize such opportunities, a few units from some of these courses are here listed:

From "Origins of Contemporary Civilization," based on Alice N. Gibbons's *Directed Study Guide in the Origins of Contemporary Civilization*¹

What are the historical roots of modern nationalism as shown in the early development of England, France, and Spain?

What great changes in economic conditions brought about a rise of modern world commerce?

How did the growth of nationalism and autocracy bring the rise of mercantilism, and what far-reaching effects followed?

From "The Evolution of the Civilization of the United States" (American History, Grade 12)

¹(New York Ginn and Company, 1926).

The Development of the West and Its Influence upon Nationalism and Democracy

Trends Taken by the International Relations of the United States, and Their Results

From the course syllabus in civics

Our Relations with Other Countries—which includes a study of the status and organization of the League of Nations

Racial Problems in American Society—at option of teacher

Integrating and Disintegrating World Forces—at option of teacher

Public Opinion as a Force in Modern Life—at option of teacher

The opportunities in the economics course need not be stated, because they suggest themselves. There is no unit as such on international economics, but most units in the course have a section devoted to the international phases of the particular material under study, especially such as "The Tariff," "Exchange," etc.

This sampling of items from the senior-high-school curriculum should amply illustrate the fact that the Rochester school system uses continuous and direct methods to lay a foundation of fact upon which the child as a future citizen may eventually act intelligently in a world whose problems are increasingly of an international nature.

In addition to the work of the social-studies departments we find direct education in international-mindedness taking place in other departments when the occasion occurs. The modern-language departments of some high schools have a method of developing a correspondence between American pupils and boys and girls of other countries, each in the language of the other.

The English syllabus for the high schools states as its objective 4—"A sympathetic understanding of human motives and acts." This statement, coupled with the inclusion of foreign authors in the courses of study, indicates some possibilities for building up international friendships. Many teachers avail themselves of these opportunities.

INDIRECT EDUCATION IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

These are the semicurricular and extracurricular activities which have a constant or occasional bearing upon the development of international friendships, the futility of war, and so forth. Much, of course, depends upon the teacher who supervises the activity, upon the temper of the children, and upon the motivating nature of current events to determine just what will happen at any time or place. But that the direct education in factual background is sufficiently good to actually develop a "consciousness of the international nature of our modern society," and makes the students eager to become active and creative in bringing the problems and lessons of this consciousness to the attention of their fellow students and the public, is shown by the following illustrations:

International relations clubs are usually under the sponsorship of the social-studies departments. Several schools have them and some of their activities are

Bringing speakers to their club to talk on international affairs

Managing the programs for school assemblies on international occasions, such as Armistice Day. These programs usually include speakers on war and peace, sometimes on "preparedness," and poems, essays, and songs on peace and fellowship

Taking student polls on peace and war, etc.

Conducting a mock League of Nations Assembly

Dramatic clubs are usually under the sponsorship of the English departments, and they sometimes stage plays on war and international fellowship. One of the most effective has been an enactment of the short but pointed play entitled "X Equals Zero."

Language clubs, such as the German or Italian clubs, occasionally play a strong part in building international fellowship through a study of the culture of the people whose language

they are learning, and through developing the international exchange of letters mentioned before.

One of the most unusual and creative extracurricular activities in the Rochester schools for the development of international good feeling is "The Renaissance Society," founded by Mr. DeFrancesco, with chapters in both East and Benjamin Franklin High Schools. This is a society of Italian boys and girls organized for the express purpose of studying Italian culture in an effort to transfer its best and finest features to their new homeland, and in interpreting Italian culture to their fellow Americans. They enact Italian plays of an ethical and historical nature, in Italian, for the Italian-speaking population; they hold essay contests on such subjects as, "What Italian Culture Can Contribute to the American Ideal"; they maintain a scholarship at the University of Rochester for the Italian student who best expresses the combined Italian and American ideal of manhood or womanhood; they conduct intersociety or interactivity conferences to further the happy amalgamation of Italian elements into American society; and they are forever educating themselves in various ways in the attributes of Americanism as it is best interpreted. The result has been an increased respect on the part of other students for the Italian and his culture, and a decided breaking down in each school of interracial and international antagonisms. Mr. DeFrancesco's idea and leadership has been invaluable, and could well be copied by others, both in Rochester and in other school systems.

SUMMARY

In summary it can be said:

1. Rochester schools attempt to develop a consciousness of the international nature of our modern environment; *i.e.*, of modern society.
2. The schools do this not at the request of groups especially

interested in international issues, but upon the dictates of the verities of history as determined through scholarship.

3. No attempt is made to indoctrinate the child with any particular belief or doctrine on international affairs, but simply to give a basis of fact and provide a practice ground for his ability to think as a citizen.

4. Both direct and indirect education are used; the first being curricular activities aimed at giving all pupils a factual background, the second being semicurricular and extracurricular activities aimed at giving capable and willing students a chance to exercise their citizenship skills and the use of their own judgment.

5. No attempt is made to teach the objective in a few unitary attempts but through a constant repeating of the factor, always viewing it in different aspects and phases.

6. Every effort is made to refrain from allowing the curriculum and syllabus to respond to the detailed wishes of special interest organizations. The way of true Americanism and of wisdom lies in teaching a respect for truth, and inculcating a desire to make as fine a nation as possible under prevailing conditions. In this we feel that it is best for realism to prevail over sentimental wish or hope.

In such efforts to build international good will and understanding, the Rochester school system does not believe it is destructive of true patriotism. On the contrary, it believes that it is assisting to build a finer and more basically sound patriotism—one that will make the United States more kindly and wise in the sight of its neighbors, and a more effective and efficient creator of the good life for its own citizens.

But the real measure of our success must come in the future with the actions of our present pupils in their efforts as creative citizens.

PUBLIC-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO DEVELOP WHOLESOME NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

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C. L. KULP

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Recent trends in the social studies in the Ithaca public schools give less emphasis to the "glorification" of our nation through a recital of military achievements and claims of economic self-sufficiency and more attention to the development of an appreciation of our great heritage in fields of science, invention, education, agriculture, literature, art, and government. A study of the struggles of the early pioneers in the conquest of the wilderness and in the advance of the frontier on an ever widening front brings to the children of today a sense of pride in those hardy ancestors who created our democracy and made liberty and the pursuit of happiness its cornerstone. The discovery and development of our natural resources add a chapter which accounts for much of our industrial growth, and lead to a desire to preserve this priceless endowment from Mother Earth. The values to democracy of such fundamentals as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to worship as one chooses are emphasized in social-studies courses. Coupled with the study of the accomplishments of the American democracy are those studies of other cultures, which have traveled other paths to achieve similar ideals, and which are now changing so rapidly in all nations.

The necessity for economic and social changes is considered frankly and weaknesses in our present social order are subjects for investigation and report. The fact that our Constitution is flexible enough to permit necessary governmental changes to keep pace with social-economic trends is presented in present-

day social-studies courses. The importance of world peace if civilization is to advance and if the privilege of social security is to become a reality throughout the world must be made a subject of study by many pupils and many classes. Not "a peace at any price doctrine," not the idea that men of the past who fought for our nation were anything less than heroes, but rather that wars of aggression are indefensible if civilization is to be preserved. Respect for the people of other nations is brought about by a study of their cultural contributions to the enrichment of life.

What are the activities designed to develop a wholesome nationalistic attitude and an appreciation of our interdependent relations with the people of other nations? A few of the many activities and devices employed in this attempt to direct pupils in the study of such problems follow:

Current events—newspapers, magazines, films, and lectures to present the facts of current history.

Projects in geography in the elementary grades to show economic strengths and weaknesses and emphasize the need for understanding and cooperation among countries.

Letters to South America, Europe, and the Philippines

Elementary, junior-high-school, and senior-high-school pupils have all participated in these projects. Classes in foreign languages exchange letters with pupils of France and Germany.

Children's booklets and gifts to other countries

Under the auspices of the American Association of University Women and the Parent-Teacher Association, good-will booklets were sent to China and gifts were sent to Mexico and Japan.

School clubs

Language clubs and the stamp and coin clubs study the history and customs of other countries.

Assembly programs

Pan-American Day is celebrated each year. Resources, characteristics

of the people, social customs, and the geography of each nation are portrayed.

The Kellogg Peace Pact has become a part of our Armistice Day program.

Dramatizations of significant historical scenes.

League and World Court discussions and debates.

Occasional talks by travelers or students from foreign countries.

Social Studies

Emphasis on the right of the majority to rule, and respect for minority opinion.

Recognition of finer spiritual and cultural values of other peoples.

Interest in the industrial, social, and political problems of today.

Development of willingness and ability to share in performing those social functions for which all citizens are equally responsible.

An understanding of the factors leading to the relatively high standard of living in the United States.

Study of the problems in democracy facing the American people including international problems, such as. naval conferences, international debts, League of Nations, Peace Pact, relations with Russia; and domestic problems, such as. government ownership, unemployment, social security, industrial problems, labor disputes, immigration.

The activities listed above are excerpts selected at random from the several parts of the public-school program which contribute to international understanding. Many of these activities are effective enough to warrant a more lengthy description. It is also true that many important phases of this program are not included above. Perhaps the greatest contribution which the modern school makes in the direction of creating a better understanding of national and world problems is the free exchange of opinion based upon reading and study. We must teach our pupils to be honestly critical and to apply the standards of scientific thinking to the solution of social, economic, and political problems.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

HENRY G. WELLMAN

New Rochelle High School

One of the major problems in modern education is to establish a technique whereby we may achieve some measure of international understanding. Knowledge brings understanding and only so can we hope to make the best use of the great place which our country occupies among the nations of the world. It becomes the duty then of the school to cooperate with every available institution in the community in the furtherance of this major educational aim.

Every community has its own individual background and traditions, its favored local organizations and clubs, its prominent churches and other institutions. No one minimizes the difficulty of integrating these with the schools in the pursuance of a great educational ideal; yet this ideal must no longer be neglected if we are to avoid the debacle of another world conflict. New Rochelle, New York, is a typical suburban city whose population is made up of many nationalities. We are grateful for the success achieved in the attempt that has been made to arrive at some of the desirable results herein described. Feeling that a record of the procedure might be of value to other communities we offer this brief description of the efforts of our public high school and the local organizations of our city to cooperate in an attempt to become more familiar with international problems.

It is obvious that if this attempt is to be effective in any high school some teacher properly trained and interested must inspire and organize the work. A teacher hoping to arouse interest in both his school and community must have, in addition to the required training in the social sciences, an intelligent comprehension of international problems, a love of humanity, and vi-

sion regarding the future as well as the ability to integrate the various departments of the school with the many-sided interests of the people in general.

In the beginning of the depression our people became aware that resulting problems were not only local or even national in character but also international in cause and effect. The social-science department organized a new course entitled "International Affairs." It was unfortunate that not enough teachers were available to care for the numbers wishing to enroll for this course. To meet this dilemma it was made one semester in length, thus giving opportunity to double the number of students. That there is a distinct demand in this community for this type of course is made evident by the ever increasing numbers enrolling for it. *The New York Times* is used as a text, each student subscribing. *National Governments and International Relations* by Frank Abbott Magruder, and *International Civics* by Pitman B. Potter are used as reference texts.

It shortly became evident that regular class periods would be entirely inadequate for the type and variety of material to be presented. To meet this need a current-events club was organized. This club has functioned for eight years as an intermediary not only between the various departments of the school but also between the school and the community. It meets on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, one meeting being conducted by the students on topics connected with class-work, the other made available for outside speakers to present policies and programs of local and national organizations. Enough cannot be said for the need of a club of this character to meet the opportunities presenting themselves for service in this field. It receives through the principal of the school many demands from local and national organizations wishing to present their ideas and programs before the school. In every community there are citizens and organizations wishing to make use of the

school to further their ends and aims. Such a club becomes a clearinghouse and at times a battle ground for the school in meeting these requests. The following paragraphs will indicate briefly the scope of its activities and the type of service it has been able to render.

No club would feel adequately prepared for programs in national and international affairs unless it received many publications containing helpful material. We have used the following: *Scholastic*, *Weekly News Review*, *The American Observer*, *Uncle Sam's Diary*, *Foreign Policy Association Bulletin*, *Current Events*, *Chronicle of World Affairs*, *Fortnightly Summary of International Affairs*, *World Events*, *Peace Action*, *The Journal of the National Education Association*, and others. The club also obtains material from many organizations which adds a valuable collection to the school library. The following come to mind from which material was received during a single school year: Foreign Policy Association, World Peace Foundation, League of Nations Association, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, National Council for Prevention of War, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, National Student Forum on the Paris Pact, United States Society, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, World Alliance for Friendship Through the Churches, Church Peace Union, Pan American Union, My Friend Abroad, War Registers League, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Committee on Militarism in Education, World Peaceways, Friends' Service Committee, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, World League of International Education Associations, and Westchester County League of Nations Association.

In this article only a few of the scores of activities of this club will be described. Some of the more important ones were county projects. In 1930 one hundred and fifty-five students from ten high schools in the county participated in a model League of

Nations Assembly. This was an attempt to portray the League in action in Geneva. In order to help the National Student Forum on the Paris Peace Pact to stimulate the study of the Pact in the high schools another county project was organized last year. Students from ten schools competed in an oratorical contest on the general subject "What Is Peace?" The program for this year will consist of a panel discussion, led by a prominent educator, on the history and future of the Pact. Each school in the county will be represented by a team of three students.

Dramatizing international affairs is the most effective work the club has done in the community. With a cast of thirty-three students the events of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, the Versailles Peace Conference, the organization of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization, and the Paris Peace Pact have been faithfully portrayed in a play entitled *Your Court and the Worlds*. This play has been presented before the woman's club, Y.M.C.A., Temple Israel, public library, County Ministerial Union, a private school, a college, county history teachers, Children's Village, adult-education group, three churches, city-wide youth group, and school assembly. This list of organizations indicates the wide contacts a school may have with local and county organizations.

Each year a competitive examination on the League of Nations is conducted by the National League of Nations Association for the high schools of our country. It becomes the duty of this club to interest the students to compete in this contest. Members of our club are furnished each year with names and are encouraged to correspond with students in foreign secondary schools. This club helps to present school assembly programs for particular days. One Armistice Day, Professor David S. Muzzey of Columbia University spoke on "Must Men Fight?" On Pan

America Day in April John L. Leonard, president of America Cables Company, spoke on "Latin American Culture." Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a resident of our city, presented on a World Good-Will Day program in May the New York State prize to a club member for the best Paris Peace Pact Essay.

Much local interest and enjoyment is manifested each spring when members of the board of education, city officials, and club leaders compete with the club members in a current-events questionnaire. The club usually wins highest average but not individual performance. When a club member won the National News Test sponsored by *Scholastic* the pupil and teacher enjoyed an all-week expense paid tour to Washington, D. C.

As noted above each community has its own individual traditions and organizations offering many avenues of approach to school participation in local affairs. In this city the woman's club held a three-day world-affairs conference. Sixty tickets at fifty cents each were donated by two citizens, making it possible for one hundred and twenty students to attend one or more of the sessions. These meetings were addressed by nationally known speakers. When the womens' clubs of the county held a two-day world-affairs conference the following year they commissioned our club to interest the schools of the county to attend. Eighteen schools responded and eleven hundred students attended each afternoon, outnumbering the adults.

In the last two years the Adult Education Council of our city organized four adult groups in history and international affairs. The council asked for volunteers to lead these groups and four members of the faculty responded. Over two hundred adults enrolled. This work, of course, is done without remuneration, classes being conducted once a week throughout the school year. Previous to this for three years the faculty adviser had led forums on international affairs at Temple Israel and at elementary-school parent-teacher group.

Young peoples' groups, forums, and fellowships of seven churches in the city have for years kept in touch with the trend of events. Teachers are continually invited to address these groups which are composed of present and former high-school students. In 1933 the general topic for discussion was "The Church and Recovery from a World Point of View." In 1934 it was "The Church and the Munitions Business," while this year it is "How War Affects Every One and Peace Is a Collective Responsibility." Like many other communities in our country a peace mass meeting was organized to counteract the war scare when Hitler assumed the leadership in Germany in 1933. In New Rochelle, through the activity of the club adviser, who was asked to serve as secretary of the city committee, such organizations as the chamber of commerce, service clubs, woman's club, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish churches, and the Y.M.C.A. joined forces for a large attendance and an effective program. An educational film, *Must War Be*, was shown and an address on "The European Situation," by Philip Nash, director of the National League of Nations Association, was delivered. Again, last November the Adult Education Council sponsored a city-wide mass meeting in Armistice week. The club was requested to present the program. First of all a cartoon film on the munitions investigation entitled *Why* was presented, followed by a play *Your Court and the Worlds*. The club adviser gave a brief address on the historical development of peace machinery as now functioning in the Italo-Ethiopian crisis.

Other activities may be briefly mentioned. The educational chairman of the local Friends Service Committee makes a monthly visit to the school to present literature and programs and help in many other ways. The city peace parade last April organized a high-school section for us. A citizen has presented to the school a set of the flags of the nations. The Adult Education Council donated thirty dollars last year for cash prizes in the county oratorical contest.

Three prizes for the best work done by students during the school year in current events have been awarded at each commencement program for many years. Prizes have always been furnished by leading citizens. The high-school orchestra has often played a *Fantasia of National Airs* and the brass sextette has played the national hymns of the South American republics on Pan America Day. The art department is called upon frequently to make posters for club projects and for prizes sponsored by local organizations.

Progress has been made in securing coöperation between the school and community toward a greater interest and understanding of international affairs. For years the schools have been favored with a weekly page on school activities in the local newspaper. This friendly service has made many coöperative projects possible and a just appreciation of attempts made by young people. Another great factor in the success achieved has been the interest and encouragement of the board of education and the superintendent of schools. Freedom of sincere discussion of all the "isms" of the day is likely to be a valuable by-product of this coöperation between the school and the community. Experience has proved the value of this coöperation. Many colleges are giving aid to this movement by their courses in nationalism and internationalism.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

MALCOLM B. KECK

John Marshall High School, Minneapolis, Minn.

The purpose of this article is to summarize briefly what is being done in the social-science department in John Marshall High School, Minneapolis, to promote national and international understanding. Many schools are probably doing most of these things. However, something in this summary may be suggestive and helpful to teachers.

The following work-sheet was prepared and used in several classes at the conclusion of study and discussion on this problem.

OURSELVES AND OTHERS

What Are Your Concepts and Ideas?

1. Does war (mass murder) determine who is right when a dispute arises between nations?
2. Does war establish justice after one nation has offended another? Why?
3. Does any one profit as much from war as the munition makers? If so, who?
4. Do you think there would be another war if the government officials and capitalists of the countries involved were required to take their places in the front-line trenches? Why?
5. Are there any reasons why a nation should not manufacture and control the production of its munitions? If so, what are they?
6. Is any man or group of men entitled to accumulate fortunes at the expense of other lives?
7. Do you know any one personally who wants war? If so, who?
8. Do you think that international conflicts would be less likely if we took the profit out of war? Why?
9. From whom does a nation get its money to carry on war?
10. Is the United States promoting peace by refusing to join an alliance of nations (the League of Nations) to prevent war?
11. Does increased armaments ensure a nation of peace? Why?
12. List the things you can do to promote world peace.

13. Can all the excuses for war be traced to selfishness? Illustrate.
14. Explain the statement, "The future of civilization depends on world peace."
15. Should we adopt the policy of keeping our money, citizens, and trade at home in case of war? How would this help?
16. Some people say that another war will create better business conditions. Factories will hum again, they say. Even if they would, is it worth it?
17. Do you see any evidence of war propaganda in the press? If so, what?
18. Does war propaganda appeal to the passions of fear and hate? Explain.
19. Would you be willing to give your life in case the United States gets into trouble with European nations while carrying on trade with warring nations?
20. Do you think any of our foreign interests are worth sacrificing lives of our men to protect? Why?
21. How do you think the American people would vote on this proposition, "We should refuse to go to war unless invaded by an enemy"?
22. Would anything worth while be gained by requiring students to visit a home for the disabled veterans of the world war? If so, what?
23. Here are some results of war. See how many you can add. (a) loss of life, (b) debts and heavy taxation, (c) destruction of property, (d) physical and mental handicaps, (e) misery and suffering, (f) fear and hate among nations, and (g) broken homes.
24. Here are some specific causes of war. See how many you can add. (a) conquest of foreign territory, (b) rivalry for markets, (c) national pride, (d) fear and hatred, (e) need for raw materials, (f) military alliances, (g) competition in armaments, and (h) propaganda in press, radio, and movies.
25. List several things we as a nation should do to prevent getting into another war.

In talking to our social-science teachers I find several specific activities that should be included here.

1. In one class the students were required to interview a World War veteran and find out definitely what he thinks of war as a method of settling international disputes. Optional and additional credit was given to any youngster who visited the Hospital for Disabled Veterans.

2. War pictures were posted all around the room. The pupils were asked to analyze and study the pictures—then go to their seats and write five conclusions in regard to war.

3. Foreign students enrolled in the school are frequently asked to speak to the social-science classes. This has proved to be particularly helpful and stimulating.

4. Guest speakers have appeared during recent years who have dealt with this problem. This list includes men prominent in local, State, and national affairs.

5. Boys and girls have been asked to listen to peace programs over the radio and report to the class. Through this activity interest in the entire class was aroused.

6. The following materials have been studied:

“Essential Facts” (The League of Nations Association, 6 East 39th Street, New York City)

“The Kellogg Peace Pact” (National Council for Prevention of War)

“The Senate Investigation of the Munition Manufacturers” (*The Christian Century*)

Arms and the Men (Doubleday, Doran, and Company)

Numerous magazine articles on the League of Nations, World Court, communism, fascism, nazism, and propaganda

Our job in the school today is to create an intelligent and righteous public opinion. War is unnecessary; it should and must cease. The future of civilization depends on our ability to develop sensible national and international concepts and attitudes. This we are attempting to do through our social-science department.

A CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES

EDGAR G. JOHNSTON

Principal, University High School, Ann Arbor, Michigan

The school's contribution to international understanding will depend upon its curricular offerings, the activities provided in its classrooms, and the efficacy of instructional techniques. To an even greater extent it will be determined by the philosophy accepted by the staff and underlying specific activities of classrooms or assembly. The presentation which follows is based on the belief that a sound attitude on international problems may be promoted most effectively by utilization of opportunities which present themselves in connection with various classes and whole school activities. In character education—and education for international understanding is a phase of that—we have come to recognize that desirable character outcomes result from a consideration of all the factors in a given situation and selection of that course of action which will result in the greatest number of satisfactions for the greatest number of people for the longest time.

Education for international understanding is education to produce a realistic, intelligent, and fair-minded point of view toward other peoples and their problems. If a school accepts the point of view here expressed, the emphasis in curriculum will not be upon a program of specific subject matter or activities in international understanding but rather upon the way in which various experiences are utilized to produce the desired results. It follows that the descriptions presented below are not so much parts of a definite program as they are typical illustrations from current practice.

The library plays an important part in the promotion of understanding. In addition to reference lists which furnish back-

ground for discussion in the social studies and English classes a large place is given to books and magazines of travel and to fiction and biography dealing with life in other countries than ours. Each year special displays are made including such volumes as *House of Exile*, *Daughter of the Samurai*, *Saturday's Children*, *When I Was a Boy in Persia*, and similar interpretations of foreign life and customs.

An important place in the University High School's program is played by a series of weekly scheduled assemblies. These most frequently grow out of classroom work and homeroom activities. They occasionally present outside speakers. As an outgrowth of the activities of one of the English classes is a play the theme of which is the debt of America to foreign nations in the fields of music and art, of science and government. Short plays and dramatizations of various school activities frequently contribute to an understanding of the people of other nations. A fine-arts program presented in living tableaux a series of famous paintings illustrative of the various national schools. Original plays dealing with the lives of famous composers as a feature of National Music Week has served to make more vivid certain periods in the history of the countries which produced these artists. Each year at least one speaker of note has spoken to the group on some phase of international interpretation—Lyman Bryson on "What the Average Citizen Needs to Know of Foreign Affairs," Robert Hall on "Interpretation of the Manchurian Situation," C. F. Remer on "China's Problem in the Far East," Preston Slosson on "Peace Problems in Europe," and Charles Hurry on "Latin America."

Several years ago a graduating class presented to the school as a memorial a series of large exhibit cases in the main corridor. A committee of pupils and teachers schedules exhibits. Usually they are displays of the work of high-school pupils. Not infrequently they are selected to illustrate the art and culture of

foreign peoples. The current exhibit is a collection of Japanese prints. Earlier in the year a selection of travel posters from the various European tourist bureaus featured spots of beauty or historical interest. The university museum lent an excellent collection of oriental textiles. The industrial-arts department sponsored a display of tools and implements from various lands, the French department a collection of modern French paintings. A friend and neighbor of the school, a retired business man who spends several months of each year in travel, spoke in a school assembly upon a recent trip to Yucatan. In the course of the talk he mentioned his custom of securing dolls in the costumes of the various countries he visited. Following the address he lent to the school an exhibit of some fifty of these models.

In music classes a study of folk songs has been used as a medium of understanding the people of their origin with reference to the influence of climate, vocation, geography, government, and recreation upon the songs of the people. A series of projects in correlation between the modern-language and social-studies departments has paralleled certain periods in history with the music from these countries.

Physical education offers opportunities to develop an appreciation and sympathetic feeling for peoples or races which may result in international understanding. Folk dancing is probably the best example of physical-education "subject matter" which naturally lends itself to the teaching of customs, manners, dress, recreational interests, beliefs, and general make-up of the people of various nations. A folk-dance project in correlation with music, fine arts, and social studies illustrates this point. A "Trip Around the World" was presented as an assembly program. Many countries were visited, the characteristics of the people noted, their dress and customs and the historical significance of their dances illustrated.

Folk dances are based on the customs and beliefs of a nation.

Seafaring England would naturally have its sailors' hornpipe, court life in France its minuet, Scotland would have its highland fling based on its geographic characteristics, and Old Mexico its *jarabe*, a story of a proposal and acceptance of marriage still cherished as a part of real Mexican life.

Folk dances are of little interest to high-school students unless the cultural pattern is used as a background. If these factors are taken into consideration in the proper teaching approach valuable information can be learned about the characteristics, culture, and traditions of a people.

The fine arts provide a rich field for understanding foreign cultures. A recent project, "Costume Through the Ages," prepared for an assembly program led to a study of various nations and their characteristic ways of living.

In French and German classes the geography, history, customs, institutions, and literature of France and Germany form a definite part of the course. In advanced classes pupils regularly report on articles in current magazines and newspapers dealing with politics, art, music, drama, and folk songs. Characteristic observances of the German and French Christmas celebration interpret the life and customs of the people. Particularly stimulating in its attack on a critical modern problem was a forum held under the auspices of the German classes with discussion of the question, "What Should Our Attitude Be Toward Modern Germany?" As a background for the discussion pupils read articles representing a wide range of opinion as an approach to an intelligent understanding of the problem. Pupils are encouraged to attend French films, plays, and lectures under the auspices of the local Alliance Française.

In both foreign-language and social-studies classes increasing use is made of the new allies of education—motion picture and radio. In some cases films and broadcasts are included in the regular class hour; individual and group reports of appropriate

programs coming at hours outside the class schedule make possible broadening the course to include significant commercial films, discussions of the Foreign Policy Association, and similar national features.

The social-studies classes present the most suitable opportunity for the dispassionate approach to conflicts of national interest. It is possible to see in the steps leading up to the American Revolution both the point of view of the American colonies and the reasons which led the English to think and act as they did; to view the Mexican War with the same objectivity with which we approach Great Britain's colonial expansion, the Japanese attitude toward Manchuria, or Italy's current adventure in Ethiopia, to see the American Civil War from the point of view of the South as well as of the North; to consider various contributing influences of geography, population, and economic pressure upon national movements and historic events.

The approach to international problems which has been presented here is based on the firm conviction that an appreciation of the ideals and achievements of other nations detracts nothing from the loyalty, courage, and idealism of American heroes, but rather enriches our understanding of the unique contributions of American civilization, and that intelligent patriotism finds a more substantial foundation in a just and tolerant attitude toward other nations than in chauvinistic nationalism

OUTLINE OF ACTIVITIES OF WORLD CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE OF COLORADO EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

A. H. DUNN

Chairman of the Committee

The Colorado Committee on World Citizenship was created by action of the Colorado Educational Association in December 1930.

The purpose of the committee has been to create an interest in the field of interrelations between nations, to better the understanding of them, and to strengthen our pupils' attitudes of sympathy and tolerance. So far as we know the creation of such a committee as a regular agency of the Education Association and acting under its sponsorship was an experiment and there were few precedents to follow.

Our work, however, has had a cordial coöperation from both the school officials and the schools, which seems to indicate that there was an open field for our activity.

In general accord with this practice we have urged a larger use of periodicals that cover this field whether they be factual, current-events types, or those carrying also discussions of more important themes. The use of one period a week in upper grades and high school for such reading and discussion is now very general. The library, of course, is another point for emphasis. The importance of the "international shelf" and of a generous supply of suitable books for it has been stressed. Lists both of periodicals and books have been circulated throughout our schools by the committee in coöperation with our State association publications. The value of international correspondence has been emphasized.

The committee has not overlooked the value of the lessons that may be emphasized through assembly programs, and especially those for special days like Armistice Day and Good-Will

Day, and program material has been sent out to both the city and country schools to aid in their observance. Efforts have been made also to contact sympathetic organizations like the P.T.A. and women's clubs, organize study classes, provide speakers at service clubs, and in general to coöperate in and strengthen all efforts looking toward a better understanding of world situations and a more tolerant spirit in dealing with them.

But it is doubtless true that the various activities mentioned or suggested are largely in use throughout the nation and at best the committee could only develop or strengthen them. Perhaps our most original work has been in the organization of international clubs in high schools and in sponsoring and developing their activities. These clubs, in type of organization, are like the usual high-school club and function under the direction of a teacher sponsor. Although the beginnings of these organizations were very simple, the growth of the idea has been rapid. The World Citizen Committee acts in a general way to encourage and assist the movement and more particularly in suggesting topics for study, outlines for same, bibliographies, etc. The different clubs throughout the State study the same topic and meet together in regional conferences and at a State conference for discussion and statement of opinions.

The first year of our activity we had only one regional conference, but last year we held four in different parts of the State. Later in the year a State conference was held under the auspices of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, of which Dr. Ben Mark Cherrington is the executive, at Denver University. This organization has been very helpful indeed to the clubs.

These conferences, both regional and State, use the same topics and carry on their work through round-table discussions. These topics have been used at different times—War Debts, Types of Government, Disarmament, and the United States

and Latin America. Our topic for this year is "Problems of the Pacific Area." The host school usually assigns some phrase or nation that the schools concerned may study especially for the conference. Thus at our first conference the host school provided a United States representative for each round table, and other schools took part of England, France, etc. Much the same methods have been used at State conferences except that the Foundation provided chairmen for the round tables from the more advanced college or graduate students in this field. The regional conferences last a day, the State a day and a half. The first State conference enrolled about one hundred from twenty-three schools, the last over two hundred from twenty-seven schools.

The benefits of these meetings apart from the discussions are very pronounced. The personal contacts are very helpful both to students and sponsors. There is always a lunch or dinner together with greetings, songs, and general good feeling. Usually too the programs can provide for a brief social hour, and the sponsors have a round table of their own which is especially enjoyable because of its informality and limited numbers. To give a more definite idea of the work of a conference, I will outline briefly our program of last April.

Friday afternoon, registration, etc., followed by five round-table conferences on. Monroe Doctrine, Trade Relations, Peace Machinery, Cultural and Social Relations, Democracy with Other Political Theories.

SAMPLE PROGRAM OF ONE ROUND-TABLE AGENDA

Round Table 1—Monroe Doctrine and Intervention (Marjorie Stephenson)

- I. Factors underlying enunciation of Doctrine
 - a) What is it?
 - b) What is Roosevelt corollary?
 - c) Development of Caribbean policy

2. What has been our policy on intervention under the Monroe Doctrine?
 - a) Policy of recognition of new governments in Latin America
 - b) Should the American flag follow the modern investor?
3. What is our present relation to Latin America under the Monroe Doctrine?
 - a) Changing policy under Hoover
 - b) Roosevelt's "good neighbor policy"
 - c) Possibility of internationalization of Panama Canal
4. Relation of Monroe Doctrine to policy of isolation
5. Validity in 1827 and 1935

While these round tables were going on the sponsors were holding a panel discussion on "Aims in International Education," which resulted in a spirited discussion of liberalism *vs.* indoctrination. In the evening a banquet was followed by an address and a social hour; and on Saturday conferences were continued and reports made.

This fall several new schools have formed clubs and by next spring we expect that practically all our larger high schools will be interested. There are, we recognize, many movements striving to accomplish the aims we serve. But it seems to us that a movement sponsored and supported by the State teacher's association has a prestige and promise of success secured in no other way. The committee reports formally each year to the legislative assembly of the C.E. A. and must be reappointed each year by its directors.

Steps have been taken toward the formation of a State organization when pupils will have a larger hand in the administration, and this step will add, we believe, to the value of the whole movement. After all it is the pupil activity that creates interest and convictions and such a method of instruction as we have outlined will surely help to make and strengthen sane backgrounds and guides for the decisions our pupils of today must make only tomorrow.

IMPLANTING THE WORLD VIEW

HENRY WADE HOUGH

*Supervisor of Adult Education in Public Affairs, Colorado-WPA
Adult Education Program*

Being inland born and bred, the residents of Colorado might be expected to regard world affairs and the whole realm of international relationships with that startled and suspicious attitude which has characterized so many prominent statesmen who have stemmed from America's hinterland.

Certainly the time has not yet come when Denver and its suburbs can be hailed by the hopeful as an oasis of understanding and enlightenment. Those adventurous gold diggers who gave Denver its start seventy-five years ago were exponents of a vigorous brand of Americanism, and the community they established still savors of an earthy nationalism that sometimes dons the hood or the helmet of 100 per cent patriotism.

But there is a potent ferment that has been working in this community for the past decade, a leaven that slowly but unmistakably is helping the people of Colorado to rise to new stature in their own eyes. This influence is growing year by year, reaching out to encompass more individuals and to affect more lives. It is the story of this influence, its inception and its development, that is the story of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences.

Before Colorado was admitted to the Union as the Centennial State, and while Denver was still wondering if it had better move a hundred miles north to Cheyenne and the railroad, there was a cultural institution in Denver named Colorado Seminary. That institution, which has been known for years as the University of Denver, grew up with the town and made a host of friends.

Twelve years ago one of these friends deeded to the University a large downtown office building, which not only was valuable but was a "going concern" in that it yielded substantial and dependable income. With his gift, the donor made a stipulation that the income should be utilized "to advance understanding and good will in social, industrial, and international relationships."

James H. Causey was that friend of the University whose generous grant established the Foundation; he serves today as one of the four trustees. The other trustees are Dr. Heber R. Harper of Columbia University and former chancellor of the University of Denver; Dr. Ernest Wilkins, president of Oberlin College; and Dr. D. Shaw Duncan, chancellor of the University of Denver. To inaugurate the work of the Foundation and to serve as its executive secretary, the trustees procured the very capable services of Dr. Ben Mark Cherrington, an eminent leader in international, social, and industrial relationships, and a friend of student groups in various parts of the world.

After appraising the purposes of the Foundation and the opportunity afforded for carrying on an extensive community-wide program, Dr. Cherrington drafted a list of one hundred and fifty of the world's forward-looking thinkers and put his problem up to them in the proposition, "What would you do?"

Suggestions began to roll in at once. They came from Herbert Hoover in Washington and from William Allen White in Kansas; from Louis D. Brandeis and Roscoe Pound. Gandhi, Jan Smuts, T. Z. Koo, and Ramsay MacDonald gave him their ideas. Jane Addams gave him hers. From these and from dozens of other thoughtful and interested persons came answers that helped in drafting the program.

Make Americans think of the postwar position occupied by the United States in international life, bring to them facts to use as the basis for a new understanding of world affairs, help

them to attain a world view, a realistic view, that would serve as an active and effective stimulant toward world peace. These objectives, it was agreed, were paramount.

Sentimental interest in world peace was plentiful, but it must be translated into an informed world view among the citizens. No mere sentimental desire for peace would withstand the roll of drums and floods of war propaganda. Education for a new world order must establish firm foundations, deep foundations grounded in understanding.

Too, it was desirable for the Foundation to become a resource to which the citizens of the region might turn for dependable and timely information on the critical issues involved wherever peace might be threatened, or wherever some new technique in human understanding might offer a fertile field for study and research.

Modestly and with a receptive attitude, the director set out to give the Foundation something of the character of Chaucer's "Oxenford" scholar, ". . . and gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

The program within the University could be only a part of the Foundation's work. The community program, which has developed from local to State-wide and regional significance, was launched in uncharted territory. An observer would find it hard to determine where the work with the "gown" begins and that with the "town" leaves off. Fortunately, it has been found that the two fields of activity blend congenially in a modern city like Denver.

For its well-balanced program of international education, the University in 1934 was awarded the F.I.D.A.C. Educational Medal, granted by the Federation Interalliee des Anciens Combattants to the outstanding American institution in the university class for distinguished service in promoting international good will and understanding.

In addition to the courses and seminars provided as part of the University curriculum, the Foundation engages in activities much farther afield. An instance is its role as host to the Rocky Mountain Regional Conference of International Relations Clubs which is sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment, last year one hundred and forty students were registered, representing thirteen colleges. Similarly, the Foundation sponsors a State-wide high-school conference of international relations clubs. Last year's sessions had over two hundred registrants including twenty-four teachers, representing high schools from twenty-seven communities.

Most ambitious of the Foundation's undertakings to date was the Institute of Public Affairs held last summer for ten weeks, with two-week units featuring in turn problems of education, economics, government, sociology, and philosophy. Local interest was aroused by panel discussions led by prominent business and professional men and women, with "headliners" from the lecture staff interspersed with students and citizen-learners.

Distinguished lecturers and round-table leaders included Drs. Lyman Bryson, Earle Eubank, J. Eugene Harley, Rufus B. Von Kleinsmid, Chester A. Phillips, James Grafton Rogers, T. V. Smith, and other noted educators from leading universities.

On the governmental side, the Institute presented many notables including Henry A. Wallace, Senator James P. Pope, Governor Paul V. McNutt, Justin Miller, Dr. H. Gordon Hayes, and Levering Tyson.

While Dr. Cherrington admits that such an ambitious undertaking as the Institute caused some concern in its early stages, the record shows that the public not only responded in spirit but also provided a net cash balance which was turned over to the summer school.

Small, selective seminar groups which meet every week to

discuss timely world problems constitute one of the most important and most popular phases of the community program. Membership is by invitation only, and is considered sufficient honor to maintain a waiting list for each of the numerous groups. Keeping the attendance down to the proper level for each type of program is a major concern of the Foundation staff, and requires tact as well as discrimination.

The seminars form a nucleus for larger gatherings, such as the occasional "Fireside Lectures" which are evening affairs attended by as many as one thousand guests who welcome the informal spirit of these occasions. Speakers are provided for discussion groups and clubs, not only in Denver but in all parts of the area tributary to Denver. Miss Elizabeth Fackt, able assistant to Dr. Cherrington, maintains almost as heavy a schedule of speaking engagements as Dr. Cherrington himself.

To many Denverites, including a large number of businessmen and professional people, the most stimulating work of the Foundation is its series of fortnightly luncheons. This annual feature has proved exceedingly popular and three times has outgrown its quarters. The luncheons now overflow the largest hotel lunchroom in the city; many attend who have hopes only of gaining standing room during the addresses of the Foundation's notable guest speakers.

The fortnightly luncheons are similar in attendance and type of audience to the luncheons held in New York by the Foreign Policy Association, and in many instances the same speakers are featured. These large gatherings serve best to dramatize world problems on which the Foundation wishes to focus attention. Colorful speakers, whose statements make interesting "copy" for the newspapers, leave behind vivid impressions that may stimulate further inquiry. Prominent local figures, often selected because they are known to disagree with the principal speaker, are honored platform guests. Dr. Cherrington takes pains to let

as many local residents as possible meet and talk with his celebrities, many of whom stay for several days.

A list of the speakers who have appeared under Foundation auspices in recent years would almost duplicate a list of noteworthy "world citizens" who have made personal appearances in America. Not a few of these lecturers now arrange their routings to include a week end in Denver, where a sizable audience is assured and a stimulating cross-fire discussion is sure to reveal the pulse of the region.

Perhaps the Foundation's trustees had never hoped that it soon would be playing an active role in improving the State government, but that has already taken place. Last year the Foundation, in coöperation with the American Legislators Association, arranged a prelegislative conference attended by eighty-five of the one hundred members of the general assembly. Before the conference convened, a group of research experts directed by the Foundation had made exhaustive preliminary studies of the major problems to be dealt with. The studies included the experience of other States and nations dealing with similar problems.

Under the inspiring leadership of its executive secretary, the organization has developed with boundless energy and enthusiasm, and yet its endeavors have been weighted with patience and understanding of the community. Still focusing its attention on winning the individual to the world view, it moves in ever widening circles to prove that education *can* be a regenerative force in present-day society.

I PLEDGE A LEGION

A. C. MOSER

Principal, Coaldale High School, Coaldale, Pa.

BERT B. DAVID

Superintendent of Schools, Lehighton, Pa.

Jehovah's Witnesses started something when one of their younger followers refused to salute the flag because it was contrary to his religion to do so. It all happened in a school in the State of Massachusetts. Fortunately or unfortunately he was noticed by the teacher. The boy was violating a State law and the teacher and board of education decided that it was their duty to compel the boy to salute the flag or treat the incident as a case of insubordination. The outcome of this case is well known because it was not long until every one concerned made the front pages of our metropolitan newspapers. The psychological effect of this newspaper publicity was such that other members of Jehovah's Witnesses and of other religious sects began to realize that they were saluting the flag contrary to their religious beliefs and immediately refused to repeat their action—more publicity, pupils expelled from school, parents arrested and fined, teachers fired, interpretations of law, new laws enacted. Now one school has been organized by the pupils with a teacher who refused to salute the flag.

The writers learned a great deal from the newspapers concerning the present practices on flag etiquette in our schools in the various States. But we learned a great deal more by investigating these practices among eight thousand school children.

State law requires every pupil and teacher to salute the flag at regular intervals in some States. In other States this matter is left to the discretion of the local school officials. Some States require teachers to take an oath of allegiance before a certificate

to teach in the schools of the State can be issued. A decision by the Attorney General in Pennsylvania requires every teacher and pupil in the schools to salute the flag and includes a recommendation that all pupils refusing to do so will be treated as all other cases of insubordination and teachers refusing to salute the flag shall be dismissed at once. Just a few weeks ago the New York Board of Aldermen passed an ordinance that a flag, of specific dimensions, must be displayed at every meeting, whether held in a public hall or private home.

What is right with our present practices of flag etiquette in our schools? Is the pledge of allegiance to the flag just one of those meaningless formalities? Do teachers and pupils salute the flag because it is customary to do so, or do they perform this ceremony because they are compelled to do so by law and wish to be law-abiding citizens, or do they perform the ceremony because the flag is, to them, the symbol of liberty and justice for all? Is the flag the symbol of liberty and justice for all? The pledge of allegiance to the flag might be meaningless to many pupils and teachers who are trying to answer the last question.

We do not expect to answer these questions for you but are willing to relate our findings for your consideration.

We took the attitude, at a group meeting of school officials and teachers, that the pledge of allegiance to the flag was a meaningless formality for most pupils. To determine the degree of truth in our contention we requested the superintendents, principals, and teachers in a number of small school districts to have all pupils from the fourth to the twelfth grades inclusive write the pledge of allegiance to the flag. All pupils were requested to be careful with punctuation and spelling. Eight thousand pupils wrote the pledge and *not one paper was perfect*.

The following is a verbatim copy of a few of the papers that were written by pupils from the fourth to the twelfth grades inclusive:

I pledge a legion to the flag and to the republic for which it stands one nation in the individual with liberty and justice for all.

I pledge the legions to the flag, of the United States and to the legions for which it stands, one nation individual with liberty and justice for all.

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands one and insperable.

I pledge the legion to the flag Of the United States of America To the republic for which it stands One nation indivisable liberty and justice for all.

I pledge a legion to the flag of the United of a America. One nation inverisal and with a stand.

I Plage the legen to the flag and to the United States of America and to the puplic for witches stands one nason in afesable off liberty just for all."

I plague the legion to the flag of the United States of America and to the repulic for Richlan stand's one nation in indivisible with librtly and jesta straw.

I bleg alegin to the flag of the United States of America and publc legen Stands One nason indavisable Librtie and jusut for all.

These illustrations may seem humorous to the reader but it becomes a serious problem when pupils have repeated the pledge every school day for a period of twelve years and understand so little about it. Would our taxpayers be justified in concluding that we teachers are guilty of similar practices in teaching our subject matter?

Authorities disagree on the punctuation in the pledge of allegiance to the flag. Therefore, we were compelled to make a selection to correct the papers. We accepted the recommendation of the committee appointed on flag etiquette by the American Legion. They recommend:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

A copy of this was sent to each teacher with a request that they teach it to their pupils. One week later the same pupils

were asked to write the pledge again. Forty-five per cent of the papers were correct and mistakes decreased by ninety-five per cent, most of the remaining errors being mistakes in punctuation.

It is obviously unwise to place too much emphasis upon punctuation. The pledge was published in a pamphlet entitled, "The Flag Code," by the American Legion, as adopted by the National Americanism Commission in conference at Washington, D. C. Here the pledge appears twice and is punctuated differently in both places.

An examination of the second group of papers, of the same pupils whose first papers appear in this article, revealed that three of the nine papers were perfect. There are eight mistakes on the remaining six papers, six in punctuation and two misspelled words. This is evidence enough that the pledge is now more than a meaningless formality to these pupils.

Why this great difference? Was the pledge never taught to these pupils before?

In teaching as well as in other professions we take too many things for granted. Pupils are promoted from grade to grade in this mechanical educational system of ours and are expected to receive a certain dose of knowledge in each grade. The next teacher takes it for granted that the pupil received the proper dose in the preceding grade and proceeds with the next dose. Finally the pupil is overdosed because we have taken too much for granted and instead of developing fine outstanding citizens that represent the ideals of our educational philosophy we find that we have developed a poor helpless creature for the Federal relief rolls.

So it is with the pledge of allegiance to the flag. Pupils in the first grade are taught the pledge by repetition. As they are promoted from grade to grade the repetition continues and we take it for granted that they know and understand the pledge. We have them rise each morning and give the pledge in a group.

They make a striking appearance and it sounds fine, but when they are called upon individually to give the pledge it is a sad, sad story. Will we then say that the teachers have failed?

During the process of our investigation various teacher groups were requested to write the pledge of allegiance to the flag. We found that there was some disagreement on the pledge and that some knew very little about it. We are not inclined to criticize them too severely because we realize that many of them never saw the pledge in print and are victims of the same circumstances as their pupils. Should the teacher be held responsible and be criticized?

Mr. Taxpayer, before making a decision, be honest, apply this test to yourself, then apply it to those whom you have elected to high office and have taken the initiative to prescribe the dose. We tried it and find the prescribers in a worse plight than the pupils themselves.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI RESEARCHES

The department of sociology of the University of Cincinnati¹ has for a number of years maintained and operated as a part of its regular educational program and activities a workroom, corresponding somewhat to the laboratories operated by the physical sciences. This is supervised by an attendant corresponding to a laboratory assistant, under the direction of the members of the departmental staff.

This equipment serves the following purposes

1. It provides an indispensable working place for the carrying out of student assignments in connection with various courses.
2. It makes possible the development of materials used in various educational projects, not otherwise available.
3. It is a recognized assemblage place for social data concerning the municipality, made available to many individuals and organizations as a part of the University's general policy of making its facilities of use to its community.
4. It serves as a bureau of information to the community on many sociological matters.

Following is a partial list of the specific projects of the department:

A. Development and maintenance of census tract maps, data and tables, officially adopted for the City of Cincinnati by the Federal Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

B. Preparation of data in the form of charts, maps, tables, etc., for the City of Cincinnati.

There have now been prepared and made available to the public some

¹This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Dr. Earle Eubank, head of the department of sociology, University of Cincinnati.

one hundred and fifty various combinations of data, a partial list of which follows:

I *Population*

Distribution by

1. Color and race
2. Parentage
3. Country of birth
4. Sex
5. Age groupings
6. Citizenship
7. School attendance

II *Vital Statistics*

1. Births
2. Deaths (including major causes)
3. Major diseases

III *Family Matters*

1. Marital status
2. Distribution of divorces
3. Number of families
4. Size of families
5. Type of dwelling
6. Home ownership and rentals
7. Estimated incomes
8. Ownership of autos
9. Ownership of radios

IV *Institutions and Occupations*

1. Schools: by location, size, and classification
2. Churches: by location, size, and classification
3. Social-service organizations: by location, size, and classification
4. Social and recreational organizations: by location, size, and classification
5. Population by occupations
6. Population by incomes

V *Various Social Problems*

1. Crime committed, by location and type
2. Criminals: by location and sex

3. Juvenile delinquency: by location, age, and sex
 4. Fires and fire-department calls. by location and type
 5. Mental defect: by location, sex, and type
 6. Physical defect. by location, sex, and type—based on hospital sampling
 7. Progress in naturalization: by location of first papers and second papers—taken out
- Various others in preparation

This is the most comprehensive body of social data assembled in Cincinnati, and is used constantly by many individuals and organizations, to whom it is made available without charge. Among the organizations which have used it in their work are the following.

Local²

1. Board of Education
2. Welfare Department
3. Police Department
4. Fire Department
5. Health Department
6. Department of Buildings
7. Engineering Department
8. City Council
9. House of Correction
10. Public Library
11. General Hospital
12. Various public schools
13. Municipal Reference Bureau
14. Welfare Department
15. Hospital for Insane
16. County Auditor
17. Juvenile Court
18. Public Health Federation
19. Chamber of Commerce
20. Federation of Churches
21. Various local churches
22. Bureau of Municipal Research

²One to 13 are under the municipal government; 14 to 17, under the county government.

23. Y. M. C. A.
24. Automobile Club
25. Citizenship Council
26. Y. W. C. A.

National^a

1. Federal Census Bureau
2. Bureau of Education
3. Federal Housing Administration
4. Federal Children's Bureau
5. Institute of Social and Religious Research
6. Special information requested by various cities

C. Collection and maintenance of as complete a file as possible of research projects completed by other organizations, open, without charge, to responsible organizations and individuals.

D. Preparation of research maps and forms used somewhat widely by various organizations

E. Preparation, and constant correction, of the most complete city address directory available for the city. This has been adopted as the official directory by various municipal departments, and has been reproduced for their use at government expense.

F. Preparation (by request) of the political ward boundaries of the city. This is said to be the first time any American city had adopted political boundaries constructed upon the basis of socially defined areas.

G. Preparation (by request) of a program of public welfare for the City House of Correction.

H. Preparation (by request) of a study of "The Social Consequences of Unemployment in Cincinnati," published as a part of the official report to the State Legislature of the Ohio Unemployment Insurance Commission.

I. Preparation (by request) of data used by the city authorities as a part of their evidence in support of petition for Federal funds to be used in Cincinnati Slum Clearance (\$6,000,000 granted).

J. Called into consultation by Federal authorities laying out plans for the 1935 census of Cincinnati.

Other projects are in process.

^a One to 4 are under the Federal Government.

BOOK REVIEWS

Webster's New International Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1935, xcvi+ 3,210 pages.

As a child in school it was not an uncommon experience in looking up a word in the dictionary to find it defined by a word equally unfamiliar. On turning to the second word, it was disconcerting to find it defined by the original word. The comprehensive dictionary was cumbersome and extremely difficult to use. The school child today who turns to the *Webster's New International Dictionary* has an entirely different experience. Although unabridged, its typography is such that it is a pleasure to read it and the more than 12,000 illustrations, some of them in magnificent color plates and halftones, make it an invaluable edition to both school and home libraries.

My Country and My People, by LIN YU-T'ANG. New York. The John Day Company, 1935, xviii+ 382 pages.

Increasingly during the past few years the eyes of the world have been turned toward China. This book has come at an opportune time and presents a clear-cut, forceful analysis of China and the Chinese by one who has traveled widely throughout the far reaches of the pseudorepublic. He has been active in student groups and has had close contacts with all classes of people—tillers of the soil to nationalist leaders and statesmen. In the light of this unusual background, it is extremely significant to note the author's conclusion that, despite the eternal conflict with Western civilization, there is a growing tendency among all classes to turn back to Eastern traditions. The author feels that the real strength of China lies in this cultural heritage.

Pearl Buck has written an interesting introduction to this very significant volume.

Interpretations, 1933-1935, by WALTER LIPPMANN, edited by ALLEN NEVINS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 399 pages.

The author is too well known to need comment. In this volume, the editor has brought together the more significant articles contributed by

Mr. Lippmann to the *New York Herald Tribune* over the last three years. He has compiled them in such a way as to give as much organization as possible in covering a large number of short publications. In international affairs, Mr. Lippmann is a nationalist and favors heavily armed isolation. He sees no possible gain in our participation in the League of Nations and in an article written some months ago he concludes that the League is dead. Unfortunately, the editor has included no articles dealing with this significant problem contributed during the last six months, yet the facts have definitely refuted Mr. Lippmann's prediction.

The Coming World War, by T. H. WINTRINGHAM, introduction by JOHN STRACHEY. New York. Thomas Seltzer, 1935, 255 pages.

This volume, with an introduction by John Strachey, was prepared nearly a year ago and some of the author's predictions would need to be rewritten even in the light of this short period. However, this volume presents an interesting analysis of the relation of war and capitalism, through which the author concludes that the two are inextricably intertwined and that war is inevitable under a capitalistic system. On the other hand, the author recognizes that capitalism is itself cognizant that war may lead to its own destruction and believes that it is this fear only that may retain some element of hesitation in rushing into another holocaust.

Neutrality: Its History, Economics and Law, Volume 1, *The Origins*, by PHILIP C. JESSUP AND FRANCIS DEAK. New York: Council for Research in The Social Sciences, Columbia University Press, 1936, 294 pages.

This is the first of a four-volume series which seeks to give a complete analysis of the entire development of neutrality and international relations. This first volume deals with the early period extending back to the first attempts at neutrality and carrying on down to the period just preceding the war. For the student of international affairs, this entire series should prove invaluable.

Dictatorship in the Modern World, edited by DEAN GUY STANTON FORD. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

Although a compilation by seven authorities, this comparatively small volume presents a comprehensive and searching analysis of the world trends toward dictatorships. In the first chapter, a general pattern of dictatorships is drawn. The second chapter presents a general view of European dictatorships, indicating how each fits into this general pattern. This is followed by detailed studies of dictatorships in Spanish America, Italy, Germany, and Russia. The volume concludes with an interesting analysis of the prospects for democracy and presents the basic challenge which other forms of government are making to the principles of democracy.

A Footnote to Folly, by MARY HEATON VORSE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, 415 pages.

Through this autobiography of a pioneer in the fight for labor rights, the author has presented an interesting and significant panorama of the entire labor movement in America. It presents "a striking picture of industrial tumult in America" and should be read by every thoughtful citizen interested in these basic issues between labor and capital.

Powerful America, by EUGENE J. YOUNG. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1936, 386 pages.

This is another significant volume presenting the way of peace. The author traces failure of the disarmament movement and frankly recognizes the impossibility of minimizing the nationalistic development which has characterized international relations during the last decade. He believes that a definite pact of the English-speaking people of the world would do more than any other single factor to ensure world peace. "Let it once be understood that America and Britain were prepared to act together against trouble, that we were prepared to crack down economically and financially on restive peoples, that they might close the sea on aggressors and refuse to recognize conquests—then the profit would go out of war."

The entire volume presents a significant challenge to internationalism and concludes that the only workable solution is to use the force of nationalist states to forestall aggressive action.

Can We Be Neutral? by ALLEN W. DULLES AND HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, 191 pages.

At a time when the munitions investigation is losing its prestige and when Congress is grappling with the problem of reenactment of neutrality legislation, this book presents a timely analysis of the entire problem of our neutrality. Through brief but factual analysis, the authors trace the historical background of the neutrality policy from Washington and Jefferson to the present time, giving considerable attention to the crucial years just preceding our entry into the war. The authors earnestly believe that legislation should not be prescriptive but rather should be of such a character as to leave large, discretionary powers in the hands of the President. They are firmly convinced that it is unwise even to designate specific commodities as "war materials" as the rapidly changing industrial conditions in the countries of the world and the many new inventions in implements of war make it impossible to write legislation such as will be effective at the time it is needed.

The Symbols of Government, by THURMAN W. ARNOLD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, 278 pages.

"The past is no longer relevant to the inventor, the surgeon or the engineer. Yet it is the very lifeblood of the sociologist, the economist, and the lawyer." Intentionally cutting across the various fields of the social sciences, the author presents specific illustrations to prove the above statement.

Without emotion but with irrefutable data, Dr. Arnold has presented one of the most challenging criticisms of government the present writer has read in recent years. Yet the criticisms are so true and the accusations so apparent that the reader must inevitably conclude with the author that the blind worship of the symbols must give way "for a competent, practical, opportunistic government." This book should be in the hands of every person in the field.

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POPULATION AND SCHOOLS¹

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Much of America's social and economic psychology has arisen out of three fundamental population facts. The American, in the first place, has had plenty of elbow room. If crowded in one section of the country, he moved on to another. For centuries Westward-Ho dominated the thought of the people of this continent. Secondly, as native sons moved West, the sons and daughters of Europe arrived at eastern ports, later to follow westward in search of open spaces and cheaper land. In the third place, the population expanded rapidly as the result of a very high birth rate. These three interrelated facts have given this country the psychology of movement, of expansion, of speculation, and of vitality, which still persists as an American habit of mind, although the underlying causes have disappeared or are disappearing.

To begin with, the westward movement recoiled upon itself. The city has gained heavily at the expense of the farm. Secondly,

¹ The predictions and statistical material are based on authoritative material, the most of which is from Government publications. I am particularly indebted to Mr. O. E. Baker, senior agricultural economist, United States Department of Agriculture, Mr. L. I. Dublin, third vice-president and statistician, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Messrs Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.

immigration, after a long period of political agitation, was shut off by the Quota Act of 1924. Between 1900 and 1914, immigrants to the new world averaged approximately one million a year. Since 1924, the outgo of people in several years has exceeded the number coming in. Now the American people face a reversal of the third great social fact; namely, rapid population expansion. The birth rate has dropped so precipitously since 1921 that America faces, during the current phase of its national life, a slowly increasing—even a stationary—population, in contrast to a rapidly increasing one. The latter will come about sooner, in fact, than any one expected a few years ago. All data point to the approaching end of American population growth. The United States stands at the beginning of an epoch, a turning point in its social history. The reversal has crept on us stealthily, and an appreciation of the fact has as yet not been comprehended by the leaders of the nation, not to mention the general public.

Barring unforeseen factors, this profound social change, more than anything else, will determine the kind of a world we will live in during the coming decades. America will be a totally different place for our children and grandchildren. A slowing up in the rate of population growth, even the possibility of a stationary America within a short space of time, and the likelihood of declining numbers within two or three decades will profoundly affect every phase of American life.

It will come now as somewhat of a shock to many of our citizens to learn that their ideas of rapid expansion in numbers must be revised, that the times have changed in this respect as well as in others. A statement of these facts may develop a variety of opinions, even arouse possible antagonisms and prejudices on the part of the uninformed and the ignorant as well as of professional boosters.

However, there is enough material now available from un-

questioned sources to make clear that America is entering a new population epoch. It is now possible to mark out quite clearly the general trends that this new era will take. In short, prediction has passed from a basis of mere conjecture to that of concrete statistical evidence upon which some very general trends can be outlined. It is interesting to note also that this American change follows a similar movement in northwestern Europe by about thirteen years, and appears to be taking the same general course. The peak in births in both England and Germany was reached around 1908, some thirteen years earlier than the 1921 high mark of the United States. It is estimated that the population of northwestern Europe, more particularly Germany and England, will start to decline within a very few years unless births or immigration increase. It appears likely that America will follow suit somewhere between 1950 and 1960.

Because of the decrease in the actual number of children born—a characteristic of the last ten years—the school will be among the first of the social institutions to face readjustment. In the country as a whole for the fifty years up to 1920, and in some sections until 1930, the elementary schools of the United States went through a tremendous expansion in numbers, to be followed later by an even more spectacular increase in high-school enrollments. In the early years of the present century, more particularly at the end of the war, these earlier elementary- and high-school expansions resolved themselves into a stupendous increase in enrollments in colleges and institutions of higher education.

As a method of approach to the interrelationships of population and school enrollments the material on the former was assembled first, following which the statistical evidence bearing on school attendance was correlated with these population trends.

During the '20's a few population experts began to point out that certain fundamental changes were operating profoundly to curtail the rapid expansion of American population, although the facts at that time were clouded by the vast number of immigrants who were entering America and who had, because of their age composition, a very high birth rate. Professor Walter Willcox of Cornell University pointed out that a decline in the native birth rate of America began as early as 1810.² Beginning with 1921, however, a drop became noticeable in the American rate as a whole, while in 1924, after immigration had been cut off almost entirely, the decline became very apparent. This was followed in turn by the depression which accentuated the trend. The 1930 census revealed officially these changes in population trends. Half of another decade has now elapsed, and the trends of the 1930 census seem to be doubly reinforced.

In 1932 the Federal Government published an exhaustive report entitled *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, in which appeared these predictions:

An influence affecting the status of children is their diminishing proportion in society. In 1930 for the first time there were fewer children under five years of age in one census year than in the one preceding. For the first time also there were fewer children under five years of age than from 5 to 10 years of age. *In some cities already there are not enough children to occupy the desks in the earlier grades.* This decreasing enrollment has not yet reached the high schools, but it is only a question of time, unless a larger proportion of those out of school are continued in school.³ . . . The consequences of recent trends in age composition are already noticeable and will become more pronounced in the future, since they are almost certain to continue.⁴ . . .

² Cited in *The Outlook for Rural Youth*, by O. E. Baker. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Agriculture, Extension Service Circular 223, September 1935, p. 14.

³ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), p. xlv, author's italics.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

There were fewer children under 5 years of age in 1930 than in 1920, hence there will be a smaller number to enter the first grade during 1930-1935 than during 1920-1925. By 1940 or 1945 there will be a smaller number for each grade up to senior high school, for most of the children who will be in these grades in 1940 were born during 1924-1931, just as most children in these grades in 1930 were born during 1914-1921. The number of births in the later period was nearly 1,200,000 less than the number in the earlier period, *so that there will be about 1,000,000 fewer children aged 9-16 in 1940 than in 1930, making a liberal allowance for falling death rates.*⁵

Birth statistics compiled from figures of the United States Bureau of the Census indicate that these predictions were sound and that they are continuing downward both in rates and in numbers.

Figures of births tabulated for a selected group of 12 States bulking large in American population indicate a gross loss in births between 1924 and 1934 of 279,135, or 22.6 per cent. The percentage of loss in numbers in each of these States during the decade mentioned was as follows:⁶ Massachusetts, 30 per cent, Rhode Island, 30 per cent; Connecticut and New Jersey, 29 per cent each; Pennsylvania, 28 per cent; Ohio, 24 per cent; Indiana, 23 per cent; Maryland and New York, 21 per cent each, Illinois, 19 per cent; Michigan, 14 per cent; California, 10 per cent. In a group of Western States, the loss was 13 per cent.

In 1924 approximately 2,900,000 children were born in the United States. In 1933 and 1934 the number had dropped to around 2,300,000, although 1934 showed a slight increase in numbers over 1933.

There were about 9 per cent fewer children under 5 years

⁵ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 33, author's italics

⁶ Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics.

of age in the United States in 1934 than in 1930, 7 per cent in the age group 5 to 10. The peak of births in the United States was reached in 1921. In 1935, in consequence, there were 100,000 more children completing the elementary schools in America than ever before or than will, in all likelihood, ever do so hereafter. By 1940, it is figured by Mr. O. E. Baker, senior agricultural economist of the United States Department of Agriculture, there will be 200,000 fewer children 14 years of age than in 1935, by 1950 possibly 600,000 to 700,000 less.⁷ In 1924 American population was increasing as much as 1,800,000 a year; in 1934 the excess number had declined to 800,000. Mr. Baker estimates that within a short time the number of births may total only half the 1925 number. He says:

One of the most significant changes has been in population—not in total population, as yet, but in the number of children and in the number of old people. About 2,900,000 children were born in 1924 and only 2,260,000 in 1933. (Returns for 1934 are not yet complete.) Births have decreased 3 to 4 per cent a year during the depression—almost twice as rapidly as before the depression. Such a rate of decline in births would result in only about half as many children being born 15 years hence as were born 10 years ago, and in a similar decline in the nation's population a generation later. However, it is likely that the rate of decline in births will soon become less rapid. If the rate during the five years before the depression is resumed, it will be nearly 25 years before the number of young children in the nation will be only half that of 10 years ago. Already the enrollment in the lower grades of the public schools is declining rapidly. . . .

The United States has been a youthful nation. It has been dominantly rural and the number of children per family is about twice as large among the farm people as it is in the population living in large cities. With urbanization the nation is becoming middle-aged, and the prospect is that old age will creep upon it prematurely—only 25 to 50 years hence. During the next quarter century there should be the strength of middle age, and then, unless the birth rate rises, or there is

⁷ *Commercial Agriculture and the National Welfare*, by O. E. Baker. Washington, D. C. United States Department of Agriculture, November 1935, p. 1.

easy immigration from abroad, a decline will set in. No nation can offer such a decrease in births to continue as that during the last decade—over 20 per cent—and not suffer the decline in strength that accompanies a rapid aging of the population.⁸

America, from a very rapidly growing population, seems to be approaching a stationary population in 1950 of somewhere between 135,000,000 and 145,000,000 people, possibly 140,000,000. Not enough children are now being born to replace the present population, in view of the statistically reliable fact that the number of daughters is insufficient to replace the present number of women of child-bearing age. Several American states, probably for the first time in history, have recently lost population. It has been primarily because of the rapid decline in the birth rate that population growth in the United States and in the nations of Western Europe lags behind even the low expectations predicted by population experts only a few years ago.⁹

In making these general predictions, it must be kept in mind that the United States is a very large country and that there will be infinite variations among localities. Within the total area of the United States, there are extremely diverse population forces at work. Some districts fortunately located to draw people from other parts may not be affected at all, while those less fortunately placed may suffer a much earlier decline. The northeastern and Middle Atlantic States, because of their overwhelmingly urban character and because of their immigrant stock which is so rapidly becoming Americanized, will suffer more heavily than the farming districts of the West and the South; the latter especially still shows a large degree of popu-

Population Trends and the National Welfare, by O. E. Baker Washington, D. C. United States Department of Agriculture, p. 1.

The number of births increased in 1935 over 1934. This is to be expected as result of a larger number of marriages postponed during the depression. It will have no permanent effect on the birth rate.

lation vitality. The rural population of the Southeastern part of the United States is increasing more rapidly than any other segment, to such an extent that this area might be characterized as the population granary of the Nation. Suburban areas will maintain themselves better than the centers of large cities. Schools in States with high compulsory attendance laws already in force will have little to offset the losses in births, in comparison to schools in States now raising their compulsory age bars. In every study of population and schools, careful attention must be paid to the prolongation of educational training on the part of elementary- and high-school students, a tendency which may be quickened by the decreasing number of children in the American family. Balancing this trend is the fact that the depression through its great loss of work opportunities has kept an abnormally large number of young people in the upper grades of the elementary school and in high school and college. Any reasonable return of prosperity coincident with a falling birth rate and fewer enrollments may remove this condition of "depression" crowding. In New York City, for example, work certificates reached a peak of 52,027 in 1928-1929, and a low point of 21,734 in 1933-1934, showing that in 1933-1934 as compared with 1928-1929 approximately 30,000 fewer children in New York City were leaving school to go to work. It is interesting to note that in the two-year period, 1929-1930 to 1931-1932, high-school enrollments increased 17 per cent, while in the period 1931-1932 to 1933-1934 the percentage of increase was only 10 per cent.

"Will the decline in the birth rate continue?" is a question frequently asked. P. K. Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, answers.

In the future it is believed that knowledge about contraceptive practices will spread among the lower economic groups in the cities and among rural people until their situation in these respects is similar to

that of upper economic city groups. . . . In view of the facts, little probability is seen of the birth rate in the United States or in most European countries ceasing to decline, or of present rates being regained in the future. The rapid decrease in the birth rate during the recent depression is not believed to be a temporary phenomenon, to be followed by an increase when good times return.¹⁰

Mr. O. E. Baker answers the question in the following ways:

More serious from the national standpoint than the immediate effects of a declining population will be the great difficulty of stopping the downward trend. The insufficient number of children in one generation to maintain population stationary will result in a smaller number of mothers, who will, unless the birth rate rises rapidly, give birth to a still smaller number of daughters. Thus a downward spiral in population is engendered. The probability is that once a decline in population sets in, caused by volitional control, it will become persistent and progressive.¹¹

The country is rapidly approaching the point of a stationary population. It would appear that lower birth rates rather than higher ones will be the outcome of the many factors involved, while death rates will increase as the older people increase in numbers. There were 34 per cent more people over 65 years of age in 1930 than in 1920. There will be slightly larger numbers of middle-aged people, 20 to 40 years of age, in 1950. After that date the loss in births will reach into the lower middle ages, thus confronting the Nation with a vicious circle. If a nation can increase its population in a geometric ratio, it can decrease it likewise. Furthermore, there is great difficulty in stopping a decline once it begins since the losses tend to become progressive. America is much closer to a stationary population than any of our expert forecasters imagined a few years ago. The following tables will lend support to the above statements

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Agricultural Economists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 261.

¹¹ *The Outlook for Rural Youth*, p. 22.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN
16 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE (INCLUSIVE), UNITED STATES
1800-1930 AND ESTIMATE FOR 1934¹²

Year	Number	Change
1800	976*	0
1810	976	0
1820	928	-4.9
1830	877	-5.5
1840	835	-4.8
1850	699	-16.3
1860	714	+2.3
1870	649	-9.1
1880	635	-1.8
1890	554	-12.8
1900	541	-2.4
1910	508	-6.1
1920	486	-4.3
1930	407	-16.3
1934	350†	-14.0

* Estimates of Professor Walter Willcox prior to 1880. See publication of the American Statistical Association, Boston, vol XII, 1912, p. 495

† Children—ratio of births 1925-1929 to census 1930, applied to births 1929-1933.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN
15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ON APRIL 1, 1930, COMPARED WITH
RURAL POPULATION IN UNITED STATES¹²

<i>Class of Population</i>	<i>Number of Children per 1,000 Women</i>
Urban	
7 cities largely American stock*	225
All cities over 100,000 population	293
All cities 2,500 to 100,000 population	341
Rural	
Rural nonfarm (mostly village) population	471
Rural farm population	545
Leslie County, Eastern Kentucky (95 per cent on farms)	915

* Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Los Angeles, Kansas City, St. Louis, Nashville, and Atlanta.

¹² *The Outlook for Rural Youth.*

If these figures and trends are correct, the American school should feel the effects of these losses in the following years: elementary schools, 1930, high schools, 1937 or 1938, colleges, 1941 or 1942.

Losses in the elementary schools of the Nation seem, generally, to be on time schedule. For example, a recent report of the Office of Education of the Department of the Interior states that:

Enrollments in elementary schools show a continued increase for the fifty-year period ending with the school year 1929-1930. Since that year elementary enrollments have continued to decrease. This decrease for each of the two-year periods ending in 1932 and in 1934, respectively, were 143,173 and 405,909. This represents a total decrease of 549,082 or 2.58 per cent for the four-year period.

These figures indicate that the losses in births from 1921 to 1929 had reached the elementary schools by 1930 and were progressive in character. It should be kept in mind that the losses in births during the past five or six years have not yet been reflected in elementary-school enrollments. Furthermore, during this period, the numbers in the upper grades were still increasing, thus offsetting to a certain extent the losses in the lower grades. These facts are reflected in the table on page 462.

In the State of New York, elementary-school enrollments from 1924-1925 through 1933-1934 are shown in the second table on page 462.

Mr. J. Cayce Morrison, assistant commissioner of elementary education, comments as follows: "From this tabulation it would appear that we reached the peak in total registration in the year 1930-1931 throughout the State of New York."

Further supporting evidence of the elementary enrollment decline is found in school and population figures of the City of New York, a startling, fascinating, and almost unbelievable

ENROLLMENT BY GRADES IN 41 STATES FROM

1931-1932 TO 1933-1934¹³

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Percentage of Change</i>
Kindergarten (29 States)	—10.8
First	— 4.8
Second	— 5.6
Third	— 1.8
Fourth	— 0.4
Fifth	— 1.6
Sixth	+ 0.6
Seventh	+ 5.8
Eighth	+ 2.4
Total elementary school	— 1.6
First-year high school	+ 1.5
Second-year high school	+ 8.7
Third-year high school	+ 11.3
Fourth-year high school	+ 12.5
Postgraduates (17 States)	+ 70.4
Total high school	+ 8.0

REGISTRATION IN ELEMENTARY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

KINDERGARTEN-GRADE 8¹⁴

1924-25	1,650,966
1925-26	1,642,599
1926-27	1,677,388
1927-28	1,688,012
1928-29	1,707,232
1929-30	1,716,382
1930-31	1,718,242
1931-32	1,715,727
1932-33	1,700,268
1933-34	1,683,731

¹³ Compiled by David T. Blose, assistant statistician, United States Office of Education, Circular No. 151, "Preliminary Statistics of State School Systems, 1933-1934," October 1935.

¹⁴ Figures furnished by Assistant Commissioner of Elementary Education, State of New York.

story. We find, for example, that children under 5 years of age in Manhattan, who in 1920 totaled 210,000, had dwindled to 113,000, almost half, by 1930. Manhattan reached its peak in elementary-school enrollment in 1920 with a total of 279,860. In March 1935, it had in attendance 176,999. This borough has had to face the double liability of a movement of population outward to other metropolitan districts as well as a decline in its birth rate. One can readily see the disastrous and double-edged effect of these movements upon the elementary-school population in the city as a whole which has been moving downward since 1930 and is destined to continue downward until the birth rate reaches a point of stabilization. In 1930 New York City had 874,810 elementary-school children, including the junior high schools. Last year, 1934-1935, it had 848,233. One would expect that Manhattan alone might account for this decline. Yet the great migration outward from that borough has failed to offset the declining birth rate in the other boroughs, and since 1933-1934 similar trends have appeared in Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond, while the Bronx with its heavy immigrant population has just about held its own.

ELEMENTARY STUDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY BY BOROUGH¹⁵

<i>Year</i>	<i>Manhattan</i>	<i>Bronx</i>	<i>Brooklyn</i>	<i>Queens</i>	<i>Richmond</i>	<i>N.Y.C.</i>
March '32	183,979	165,897	357,392	140,300	23,244	870,812
March '34	180,154	165,540	352,395	138,573	22,774	859,436
March '35	176,999	166,342	346,370	136,635	21,887	848,233

To cite a suburban case, let me take the enrollments of a small school district on the immediate outskirts of the City of New York and very favorably situated by location and age composition to resist a decline in student population. Yet even here, losses, as shown in the following tables, have been sustained.

¹⁵ Official City of New York school reports.

ANNUAL ENROLLMENTS IN SUBURBAN LONG ISLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT,
1925-1935¹⁰

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Gain or Loss</i>	<i>Per Cent of Gain or Loss</i>
1924-25	3,202	.	..
1925-26	3,695	493	15.4
1926-27	4,194	499	13.4
1927-28	4,724	530	12.8
1928-29	5,146	422	8.9
1929-30	5,475	329	6.4
1930-31	5,534	59	1.0
1931-32	5,905	371	6.7
1932-33	6,001	96	1.6
1933-34	5,893	-108	-1.8
1934-35	5,821	-72	-1.2*

* If the increase in kindergarten students, due to the opening of new classes, is eliminated (61 students), then the loss is 133, or 2.2 per cent

These figures indicate that there was an average annual increase in the public elementary-school enrollment of this district up to 1932-1933 but that the percentage of increase lessened steadily until in the year 1933-1934 an absolute decline was reached. These gains broken down into grades indicate the

ANNUAL ENROLLMENTS IN SUBURBAN LONG ISLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT
BY GRADES¹⁰

<i>Year</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Special</i>
1925-26	734	535	512	475	446	392	302	179	.
1926-27	847	594	570	517	497	434	352	230	.
1927-28	873	662	661	619	528	505	371	309	
1928-29	923	665	682	634	689	539	464	329	
1929-30	1,037	719	707	649	689	568	421	397	
1930-31	940	782	674	701	634	644	521	405	26
1931-32	974	773	723	717	730	621	600	478	52
1932-33	958	722	730	690	716	751	594	475	88
1933-34	940	719	676	712	638	716	649	502	84
1934-35	799	702	689	639	683	655	694	537	105

¹⁰ Compiled from official school records of this district

movement of enrollments shown in the second table on page 464.

The evidence is clear and to the point. The downward trend of the elementary-school enrollments which started in the first grade in 1930-1931 is now making itself felt in the first through the sixth grades, and this year will reach the seventh.

Another interesting trend in this district is shown in the census of children under 18 years of age.

CENSUS OF CHILDREN, BIRTH TO 18, SUBURBAN LONG ISLAND
SCHOOL DISTRICT ¹⁷

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Gain</i>	<i>Per Cent of Gain</i>
1924-25	2,499		..
1925-26	3,762	1,263	50.5
1926-27	5,039	1,277	34.9
1927-28	6,466	1,427	28.3
1928-29	7,592	1,126	17.4
1929-30	8,664	1,072	14.1
1930-31	9,990	1,326	15.3
1931-32	10,620	630	6.3
1932-33	11,320	700	6.6
1933-34	11,448	128	1.1
1934-35	11,773	325	2.8

Glancing superficially at these figures, one would be led to believe that the school population was still increasing. A less evident but the most startling fact of all, however, is that there is still a large increase in the numbers of children coming within the ages 12 to 18, and that these increases at the moment are just enough to outweigh the decreases in the years from birth to 11 or 12 years of age. However, as the leaner years push up and the fatter years push beyond age 18, both the amount and the percentage of increase become smaller and smaller, and in a year or two will turn into a decline.

¹⁷ Compiled from official figures in district superintendent's office

The following quotation is taken from *The School Review* for October 1935.

These trends are, of course, reflected in most local school systems. An illustration is at hand in the annual report to the Board of Education of Arthur E. Erickson, superintendent of schools at Ironwood, Michigan. The report includes a section on trends in school enrollments for the ten years from 1926 to 1935. The elementary-school enrollment dropped off during the period from 3,321 to 2,497, and the high-school enrollment mounted from 762 to 1,277.¹⁸

High-school enrollments have increased enormously throughout the United States, are still increasing, and should continue to increase for several years to come. But by 1937 or 1938, generally speaking, losses in the elementary grades should be reflected in the freshman or ninth year, although the total high-school enrollment may continue to increase for a year or two longer due to the larger numbers in the upper years. The City of New York reports the smallest increase in high-school enrollments for a number of years. The slowing up of the rate of increase in high-school registration in New York has been accompanied by an unexpectedly large decline in the elementary-school enrollment. College and university enrollments should continue to increase generally until the early years of the next decade. In the case of the high schools and colleges, there will be a conflict between the tendency to prolong education, on the one hand, and a declining birth rate, plus more work opportunities, on the other. It may well be that advanced and graduate enrollments in institutions of higher learning will increase for a number of years due to the stiffer competition for secure professional positions. Since the middle years of life will be strong in numbers in the United States for several decades longer, opportunities in the field of adult education will increase. It is very possible that the upper

¹⁸ *The School Review*, October 1935, p. 570

reaches of the educational field will expand, while the lower ones will decline. But, in any case, population trends will take on added significance to every school administrator whether he be in elementary-, high-school, college, or university affairs. When expansion was rapid, there were more than enough students for all and school administration demanded certain types of leaders. When numbers become stationary or decline, school administration may well be something very different. The business world before 1929 contrasted with the present period is a good analogy.

As one looks forward countless adjustments come to mind. The tremendous expansion in enrollments during the past decade has put unprecedented pressure upon physical facilities. Many school districts are still faced and will be faced for several years to come with the necessity of modernizing buildings and equipment. Nevertheless, any expansion based on old trends and "booster" psychology, especially in the municipal field of public works, may well leave many communities impoverished and unable to provide properly for other more intangible services such as instruction and teachers' salaries. Over-expansion in building must be carefully watched. The United States in the past has financed large developments in public works, especially municipal undertakings, through the issuance of long-term bonds. Interest and amortization on these bonds were readily absorbed by a rapidly growing population which constantly built ever higher assessment values. With a very slowly growing population or a stationary population, these matters of long-term financing take on serious aspects. There is no telling what burden of debt this orgy of waste, unwise financing, and unnecessary public works will place upon the backs of the fewer children now marching on into adult life. It may well be that some cities will find it necessary to abandon schools in some sections, while overcrowding is prevalent in

outlying districts. Community planning in any locality must now be based more than ever before upon a thorough study of population trends as evidenced by the figures of the last ten years. Otherwise, waste—in some cases, impoverishment—may result.

Another field of adjustment will be found in the training of teachers. The easing of the pressure on external school facilities will make it possible to turn attention to quality in education. The need for new teachers will undoubtedly be lessened, while the demand for better teachers should increase. There may well be a greater interest in education on the part of parents of one or two children as contrasted with that of parents tied down with larger family responsibilities. Normal schools training teachers for the elementary grades, for example, may have to divert part of their applicants into the field of adult education, even to other occupations. Schools of education will find it necessary more than ever to correlate their output with job opportunities. Many adjustments will be necessary as the decline in the number of pupils and students inevitably reaches up into the higher years.

The United States stands at the beginning of an epoch, a turning point in its population history. The school, because it deals with children, will be among the first of our social institutions under the necessity of adjusting itself to this major reversal in the population trend of the Nation.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

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Sociology is a basic science of social interaction and of human nature in its interacting aspects. Its subject matter includes people in their social relationships, groups, institutions, communities, cultural patterns, and all the details of social structure and organization. But sociology is not concerned merely with social structures. It studies social forces and all of the processes of social interaction; it is concerned with social dynamics as well as statics.

Educational sociology represents an attempt to make the principles and methods of sociology available and applicable to education. In addition it focuses upon special educational problems which depend for their solution on sociological principles. It is obvious that educational sociology is closely related to educational psychology and educational philosophy, both of which must utilize many of the same facts, although from a different point of view and with a different emphasis.

Education is an applied science, at least in intent, based upon psychology and sociology. Education also draws on philosophy upon which it has depended heretofore for its objectives. Educational philosophy in turn depends upon the data of sociology because its generalizations must be rooted in social experience made significant by the sociological application of the scientific method.

The sociological approach to educational problems may be considered first from the standpoint of method and second from the point of view of the subject matter with which educational sociology deals.

THE METHOD OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Perhaps in no other way does sociology stand so much apart from traditional approaches to social problems as in its insistence upon a rigidly scientific method. This does not mean that it utilizes the techniques of the physical sciences which are often inappropriate when applied to social phenomena; yet the general principles of scientific method underlying both the physical and social sciences are the same.¹

The question naturally arises as to why sociological science and research have not done more in the solution of social and educational problems. Some of the reasons may be stated as follows:

1. The subject matter of the social sciences is intangible. One can dissect a frog or boil a piece of metal in a test tube, but one cannot deal so objectively with a social attitude or institution.

2. Human relationships and personalities, moreover, are among the most complex of all objects of scientific investigation and for this reason exceptionally difficult of scientific description and measurement.

3. Furthermore, controlled observation, which is the basic first step of scientific method, is particularly difficult because people, groups, and institutions resent and resist observation.

4. Experiment involving human beings is even more difficult because human values cannot be violated in the interests of research.

5. Perhaps the most important explanation of the tardy application of the science of sociology to social and educational problems is a well-nigh universal personal and group bias which generates resistance to research. Bias may be simply defined as some characteristic of an individual, a group, or an institution which leads to resistance of scientific investigation.

¹ For a discussion of the methods of sociology and social research, see George A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York Longmans Green and Company, 1929), xi + 380 pages.

Vivian M. Palmer, *Field Studies in Sociology* (Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1928), xix + 281 pages.

Stuart A. Rice, *Statistics in Social Studies* (Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), xii + 222 pages.

The use of scientific methods in studying schools, social agencies, churches, motion pictures, the radio, and other social institutions is likely to meet with resistance because of such types of bias as ethnocentrism, conservatism, irrational sentiment, and vested interests.

Far more insidious than any other type of prejudice in its resistance to scientific investigation is the bias of vested interests, which may be political, economic, religious, or educational. Educational institutions resent scientific investigation which suggests institutional changes that will alter routine, decrease salaries, eliminate personnel, or disturb tenure.

Altruism is rarely developed sufficiently in human nature to lead to an unselfish submission to impartial study. Yet it is this very function of scientific research that makes it the most important potential agency of social progress. The gains of natural science will be denied if analogous methods are not applied to social problems. Scientific achievements in the arts of war may destroy civilization if social science is unable to make an equivalent conquest in the field of social control.

It is obvious, therefore, that one of the most important social tasks of the present day is to evaluate scientifically the results of human institutions. The measurement of the influence of institutions is one of the most difficult of all research problems. A good example of the scientific evaluation of an educational institution using the methods of educational sociology was the Boys' Club Study of New York University, completed in October 1935.²

The Boys' Club Study was initiated in 1928 to make a scientific evaluation of the character-building and delinquency-preventing results of a large boys' club, newly opened in one of the crime-breeding

² A complete account of the scientific methods employed in this study is contained in the September 1932 issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI 1, pp 1-64. The results of the Boys' Club Study are to be published in book form, probably late in 1936.

areas of New York City. Financed by a gift of \$37,500 from the Bureau of Social Hygiene, the study undertook to measure the influence of this club over a period of four club years from 1927 to 1931, utilizing a combination of the descriptive, ecological, statistical, and case-study methods with several innovations in research techniques including particularly the use of the superior boy as an observer and reporter.³

This research involved a complete study of the Boys' Club community covering the basic social facts of the area and the conditions related to delinquency and its propagation as well as the wholesome influences affecting boys in this district. It also involved a complete descriptive and statistical study of the club itself. These phases of the investigation yielded the necessary background for the evaluation of the club as a delinquency preventive agency, which was accomplished through a study of the membership of the club in comparison with non-members, membership turnover, case studies of delinquents within and without the club, and a comparative statistical analysis of delinquency in the club and in the community.

An example of an attempt to measure scientifically an informal educational influence of great social importance was the investigation of the Motion Picture Research Council,⁴ which combined the methods of the educational sociologist with those of the psychologist.

The Payne Fund Studies, undertaken under the auspices of the Motion Picture Research Council, were carried on by a group of competent research experts drawn from the fields of sociology, psychology, and education. Several universities cooperated in the undertaking, which organized a few basic studies designed when completed to throw light upon the following questions: What is the amount of knowledge gained and retained from motion pictures by children of various ages and what types of knowledge are most likely to be thus gained and retained? To what extent do motion pictures influence the conduct

³ For an account of the superior boy technique, see *Social Attitudes*, by Kimball Young (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), pp. 236-265.

⁴ Published in a series of monographs by the Macmillan Company, New York, under the general title of the Payne Fund Studies.

of children and youth either in desirable or undesirable directions particularly in regard to patterns of sex behavior? What effect do motion pictures have upon the social attitudes of children? What is the effect of motion pictures upon the health of children? To what extent do motion pictures affect the emotions of children and to what extent are these possible effects wholesome or harmful? What are the effects of current entertainment films upon the standards of American life? What is the content of current films? In what numbers do children of various ages attend commercial motion-picture theaters? What can be done to teach children to discriminate between good and poor motion pictures?

Most of these questions were rather definitely answered in the findings of the researches already alluded to. They showed in general the tremendous influence of motion pictures upon the information, attitudes, emotions, and activities of children and indicated the importance of the consideration of these educational influences by the schools.⁶

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The subject matter of educational sociology is too extensive to permit complete discussion here. We shall merely mention some of its broader ramifications and indicate more in detail some of its fields of special interest.

Every phase of school organization, procedure, and policy needs a foundation of sound sociological principles. Teaching techniques and classroom procedures deserve sociological study to determine the value of the socialized recitation, the project method, the platoon system, the Dalton plan, and the activity program as compared with older methods. What are the sociological implications of "lock-step" methods as compared with individualized teaching? How may validated new methods which have a sound sociological basis be applied and extended?

There is no more important field for educational sociology

⁶ A complete account of the scientific methods employed in this study is contained in the December 1932 issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI 4, pp. 193-258.

than the sociological determination of the curriculum and the formulation of the social objectives of education. Does the content of the curriculum meet the needs of the pupils? Does it enable future citizens to meet effectively the demands of modern civilization and American institutions? Is the curriculum characterized by social lag or does it keep up with rapidly changing social and economic conditions?

William Healy has pointed out the lack of pupil interest in what is presented in school as an important factor in juvenile delinquency. He says:

It is extremely seldom that our records of delinquents, which reveal so much of the inner world of childhood, show the slightest indication of any commanding interests based on material derived from the schoolroom. Fifty years ago this might not have been true, but at present the school is in deadly competition with the activities of the street, with the radio, the movies, and the newspapers. And from all these other sources the child naturally seizes upon the crudely dramatic and the lurid, both usually unwholesome. A vast number of homes are totally unfitted and unequipped to offset this, and the net result spells menace to good personality development and to our whole civilization.⁸

Many children in crime-breeding areas are not equipped mentally or socially to profit by traditional academic curricula. In one of the academic high schools in New York City, and this is typical of many cases, a young Italian boy was virtually forced onto the street because he could not adjust himself to an inflexible curriculum of academic subjects. He became demoralized, fell in with a group of hoodlums, and was sent to prison as the result of a hold-up. From a sociological point of view, the Citizens' Conservation Corps training camp, although far from perfect, is a more important educational institution for a

⁸ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, "How Does the School Produce or Prevent Delinquency?" *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, April 1933, VI 8, p. 460.

large number of older adolescents than is the senior high school because it has met the needs of a particular type of young man in a way that the high schools have not, and has taken from depressed rural areas and crime-breeding urban districts thousands of boys who would otherwise be subjected to the demoralizing idleness which produces criminality.

Sociological maladjustments in the school system are responsible for difficulties confronting pupils and teachers alike. The problems connected with grading, promotion, and progress of pupils and all sorts of pupil groupings in relation to intelligence, achievement, and social and cultural backgrounds have important social implications. One example of a type of maladjustment prevailed for many years in Chicago where the transition from school to work was so regulated that it was impossible for many boys either to attend school or to be legally employed. As a result gangs developed about the gates of every school—veritable training schools for delinquents, composed of boys who spent their time upon the streets and demoralized the children in school.

Other phases of school organization which demand sociological study include the division of labor among the personnel of a school system; the articulation of the various departments and subdivisions within the system; the social control of school personnel; the operation of pressure groups on the schools; politics within and without the system, and the inflexibility of the system as a whole when it is burdened with ponderous tomes of regulations which kill individual initiative and make educational progress difficult. Problems of this type are too likely to be viewed solely from the standpoint of traditional teaching methods on the one hand or of the external financial or political aspects of school administration on the other, rather than from the point of view of their sociological sound-

ness—their effects upon the character, personality, and social efficiency of pupils and teachers.⁷

Social relationships and interaction in education present a large field of interest to the sociologist. Are the relations between teacher and pupil those of sympathetic understanding, coöperation, and *rapprochement*, or of distrust, conflict, and antagonism? These important problems demand more than casual interest. Likewise, the adjustment of individual pupils to other pupils is a basic requisite for wholesome social development. The child who is teased at school, for example, represents a problem for the consideration of the sociologist, because school maladjustment may be a symptom of serious social maladjustment in later life.⁸

Another phase of pupil relationships includes the multitude of *casual* contacts of children at school—going to and from school, and in activities of school groups outside of the school building. These problems are very important from the standpoint of juvenile demoralization and delinquency. The school creates unusual opportunities for social contagion of undesirable social attitudes and patterns of conduct. Yet little progress in the intelligent control of this type of informal education has been made. William Healy maintains that the school

⁷ The best single sociological study of the school as a social organism has been made by Willard Waller, associate professor of sociology, Pennsylvania State College, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932, xiv + 467 pages). Waller brings a genuine sociological point of view to the study of the varied social processes taking place in the school situation. He discusses the relation of the school to social processes in the community, the place of teachers in the community, the relations of parents to teachers, and those obscure influences emanating from janitors, school stores, etc. He interprets the school in cultural terms, discussing its ceremonies, the expression of fundamental wishes in its activities, crowd psychology, and primary groups among school children. He presents pupil-teacher relations, social factors in the classroom situation, and personality problems of teachers. This type of objective study of the social phenomena related to education needs to be greatly extended.

⁸ For a fuller discussion of the social aspects of the problem of the teased child, see Frederic M. Thrasher, "Teasing as a School Problem," *Child Study*, January 1930, VII 4, pp 101-106.

creates opportunities for demoralizing influences to spread from one pupil to another.

Perhaps it might be thought that the school is not highly responsible for the influence of children upon each other, but, as we insist, the school is forcing such companionship. Prior to school age, intelligent parents generally know something of their child's companionships. When society to a considerable degree takes in charge the child's life, he is almost always thrown with others about whom the guardians of the child know little or nothing. Does not then the young life become very considerably a matter for oversight by the school people? If children are thrown together from widely different standards of culture and upbringing, should there not be great care to prevent harm being done? We could offer hundreds of cases in which delinquency contagion has been the result of school companionship, and in not a few cases the troubles have arisen within the area of immediate school contacts.⁹

Associations formed in school groups such as clubs, fraternities, crowds going to and from school on foot or in buses, gangs, playgroups, etc., are of great importance in molding the character and personality of the school child and in determining his vital interests. The school has discovered no effective way to study or control these activities, especially their *sub rosa* aspects. Suppression by legislation, a method often employed with high-school fraternities, appears to present the easiest way, but in reality it is often the most disastrous.

There is no more important sociological problem in the field of education than the relation of the school to the home of the pupil. The attitudes and coöperation of parents are fundamental in determining the success of schoolwork. The parents' organization presents many issues of sociological interest. The inability of the classroom teacher to carry out a complete program of home visiting necessitates the specialized visiting teacher, a neglected function in the American school system in

⁹ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

spite of promising beginnings which have been made in some localities.

The school as an institution is an integral part of local community organization and to be successful must be responsive to local community needs. It should be the endeavor of the educator to see the community and to see it as a whole, not merely as a series of departmentalized interests. Institutional-mindedness is one of the gravest problems of education because education must be fruitfully linked with other major social activities of the community; it cannot be carried on effectively in a social vacuum.¹⁰

The social backgrounds of the school child constitute another major field of the educational sociologist. Learning is far broader than the schoolroom. It takes place in every life experience, in all the varied types of social interaction in which the child participates. There are many cultural influences outside the school which have a vital bearing upon school problems. Public education must take account of what happens to the child at home, in his neighborhood and community contacts, at work, at church, and during leisure time. Racial and nationality factors are also an important part of the social influences which play upon him outside of school hours.

Space is lacking here to describe all the social backgrounds of the school child which are important to education. Leisure-time experience may be discussed as representing one type of extra-curricular activity which, because of its profound educative influence, is of fundamental concern to the educational sociologist. One forward-looking school administrator requires every

¹⁰ Elsewhere in this issue of *The Journal* a progressive-school administrator, Harry A. Wann of Madison, N. J., has described the importance of educational planning in relation to the whole community. The relations of the school to the community are discussed in the February 1936 issue of *The Journal*, in which several articles present methods now being worked out of integrating school activities with community needs.

teacher in his system to have on her desk a card file listing the leisure-time and outside school activities and affiliations of every child in her class.

Educators have never given adequate consideration to the possible educational advantages of articulating the course of study with such absorbing outside interests of the child as his out-of-school reading, his radio listening, and the motion pictures. The first of these advantages is the possibility of guiding children in their participation in these pursuits and the second is the promise of making schoolwork more interesting to children by relating it to these fascinating outside activities.

It should be pointed out parenthetically that reading, radio, and motion pictures represent passive absorption of the spectacular and dramatic actions of others. The schools can undoubtedly do a great deal to reduce the universal American disease of "spectatoritis" by giving children more active games and hobbies.

What are children reading outside of school? It is important to know whether they are completely absorbed in *Popular Mechanics* or the comic strips. The educational significance of movie-fan magazines, which circulate in the millions every week, can hardly be neglected by the teachers of reading. And what of the sophisticated adolescent who finds his delights in the mildly risqué *New Yorker* or the naughtiness of *Esquire*? Then there are the positively vicious magazines and pictures which are often carried by children like schoolbooks, read by all their schoolmates, and then handed down to posterity. Does not the school have a certain responsibility for guidance along these lines?

It may be argued that there will be pulp magazines as long as there are "pulp-minded" people to read them. Yet an attempt should be made by the teacher to evaluate the pulp magazines and discuss their shortcomings in order that the

children who devour them will be able to appraise this kind of reading diet. Interesting and sympathetic discussions will do a great deal toward redirecting reading into more desirable channels and pointing the way to wholesome substitutes for the overstimulation of cheap reading matter. The evaluation of newspapers and the direction of newspaper reading is also an important function of the school.

To what extent is the radio a distracting habit for children at home? Some of them have become addicts and must have the radio turned on every evening until all the exciting programs have been heard. How many schools are making a serious attempt to guide their pupils in the selection of the programs to which they listen? The radio is undoubtedly performing a valuable function in improving general musical taste, and because of its mass appeal is probably more important in this connection than all the work done in the field of public-school music. Too often the school treatment of subjects makes them distasteful rather than attractive. It is important, therefore, for the schools to utilize pupil interest in the radio to motivate their own music instruction.

The commercial motion picture, which has a tremendous fascination for school children, offers the school one of its greatest opportunities to vitalize its work. Like reading and the radio, it also presents to the school a responsibility for directing the film diet of its pupils. The importance of entertainment films is just beginning to be recognized by school people and parents. The vast influence of motion pictures in imparting information and developing attitudes both in children and adults has been demonstrated. In his summary of the Payne Fund Studies, W. W. Charters points out the extent to which children acquire facts from the movies.¹¹

¹¹ Quoted from *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary*, pp. 8, 9, 10. These statements are based upon the study by P. W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard entitled *Getting Ideas From the Movies*. Both volumes are published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

Charters further indicates the importance of motion pictures in changing the attitudes of children.¹²

How can the school utilize the influence of entertainment films in teaching school subjects? Here is a vast field that has hardly been explored.

There is an increasing number of theater films which have literary backgrounds. Librarians have already noted a tremendous increase in the demand for books when films based upon them are shown. Some school administrators consider a film like *David Copperfield* a part of the curriculum and the whole high school may be dismissed to see such a film during school hours.

Not only is classwork made more interesting by the use of films seen in the theater as subjects for oral and written themes and class discussion, but a few schools are beginning to guide the selection of photoplays by the introduction of photoplay appreciation into English classes.¹³

Not only in English classes, but also in science, history, music, and the social sciences has the entertainment film an important contribution to make.

The potentialities of the motion picture as an instrument of education in the social sciences have never been realized either by educators or laymen. The well-made motion picture is one of the most effective of all educational devices in this field, not only in imparting information, but in stimulating the emotions and changing social attitudes, which are the very dynamics of social action. In no other place in the world can the motion picture serve a more useful purpose as an instrument of social-science education than in America where social changes have been too rapid and too numerous to enable social institutions to keep pace with them.

Social-science teaching needs to be rejuvenated and there is no single teaching device which can make it come to life so effectively as the motion picture. Democracy can be made to live on the screen, to live ideally and practically in a vivid way that will leave indelible im-

¹² *Op cit*, pp 20, 21, 22, 23. These statements are based upon the studies of Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone which are reported in their book entitled *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, published by the Macmillan Company, 1933.

¹³ See for a full discussion of this subject William Lewin, *Photoplay Appreciation in American High Schools* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), xv + 122 pages.

pressions upon the plastic mind of youth. Citizenship does not depend upon information alone, but upon habits of feeling and acting which are deeply rooted in our sentiments and attitudes. It is here that the motion picture has a prime function to perform, because it has demonstrated that it can create sentiments, that it can change attitudes. Motion pictures can make us hate the Negro or can create in us attitudes of tolerance and cooperation. They can make us love our parents and show consideration for them. They can make us hate war or love it. They can make us friendly and tolerant of diverse nationalities and economic and social strata in the population, or they can create in us disdain, fear, and distrust. They can make us appreciate the contribution of science to human progress, and generate attitudes of respect for and support of scientific research.

The classroom use of the theater-shown film is only one method whereby the course of study may be related to the entertainment film. Photoplay clubs and popular extracurricular activities in many schools assume a variety of names and functions, but their fundamental purposes seem to be to create worth-while leisure-time activities and to develop a discriminating taste which leads children to patronize only the more worth-while productions in the theater. Through photoplay appreciation in school classes and in photoplay clubs the school is assuming a proper responsibility for the guidance of pupils in the selection of their film diet¹⁴

In addition to discussion of pictures, photoplay clubs often make amateur movies dealing with school activities or presenting their own photoplays. In the New York metropolitan area it has been possible for many clubs to preview and classify pictures for the National Board of Review. Any school, church, or other photoplay club composed of children or young people may enjoy the privileges of membership in the National Association of 4-Star Clubs.¹⁵ The 4-Star Clubs have a column every two weeks in the *Scholastic* magazine, which circulates widely among high-school students. They hold a national annual conference and they participate in the course on the motion picture being given at New York University.¹⁶

¹⁴ Elsewhere in this issue Reginald Robinson shows that without guidance children are quite indiscriminating in their selection of motion pictures.

¹⁵ Information as to how to form a 4-Star Club or to affiliate any photoplay club with the National Association may be obtained by writing to the National Association of 4-Star Clubs, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

¹⁶ Outlines of this course may be obtained by writing to the author of this article, care of New York University, Washington Square, New York, N. Y.

In communities where no motion-picture council exists, schools may perform a legitimate service by taking the lead in organizing such activities. Motion picture councils of this type may become affiliated with the National Motion Picture Council,¹⁷ which maintains a clearinghouse of information on community motion-picture activities and which has a yearly conference in connection with the annual meeting of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures.

The preceding discussion of the motion picture has been presented merely as one example of the numerous social backgrounds of the school child which it is important for school people to study and to take account of in planning educational programs.

The important field of school-community relationships has been little more than implied in this article. It is a subject of great importance to the educational sociologist because of the problems arising out of the lack of the articulation of the school with other institutions of the community. These problems are of many kinds and deserve extended sociological research and discussion. No more important problem of this type just now is the proper role of the school in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime.¹⁸ This is primarily a sociological problem of community reorganization, in which the school in any plan that is finally adopted must play an important part.

¹⁷ Information as to community motion-picture-council activities and affiliation with the National Motion Picture Council may be obtained by writing to this organization at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

¹⁸ Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck are preparing a symposium on crime prevention which will include accounts of various types of community programs of coordinating crime-prevention activities.

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF THE CHILDREN OF NEW YORK'S LOWER WEST SIDE

REGINALD ROBINSON

The purpose of this study was to get an accurate picture of leisure-time habits, activities, and needs of the children of the Lower West Side. Through the kind coöperation of the New York City Board of Education and the school principals and teachers of the Lower West Side, it was possible to contact a large number of the boys and girls of this area. The junior-high-school group of 1,100 was finally chosen for intensive study.

The most practicable method yet developed for a systematic study of such a group is the diary method. This enables the investigator to get directly from the children themselves the story of their daily activities. It is superior to the ordinary questionnaire because it avoids the field of wishes, desires, attitudes, choices, etc. Instead, the schedule used in this study records what the children actually do. In this way it is possible for the investigator to make an accurate picture of juvenile life in the community and to draw conclusions with regard to needs of the young people on the basis of material possessing a comparatively high degree of validity. A further advantage of the diary is its adaptability to statistical treatment which furnishes reliable comparative data which the very nature of the questionnaire prevents.

The diary schedules used provided for records in half-hour units of the activities of the children over a period of four days. The schedule was taken home by the children and filled out during the period studied. In addition to the diary records certain basic background information was obtained from the children to help in defining the group and in describing the social

and economic conditions under which they were living. These facts are important in defining the group studied and in explaining and interpreting the leisure-time activities.

Although over ninety per cent of the children are native-born Americans, over sixty per cent of the fathers were born in Italy and another fifteen per cent were born in some other foreign country. This makes the children a second generation immigrant group. This is a significant fact and must be taken into consideration when discussing leisure-time activities and the home life of the children. In the second generation immigrant group there necessarily arise the various conflicts and adjustments typical of groups adjusting to a new culture.

The families average almost four children per family. This means that these families require help from the children in home duties and outside work and thus absorb considerable leisure time and effort which otherwise might be expended in leisure activities.

About one third of the group were living in homes where the head of the house was unemployed. The average weekly wage was found to be \$25, and seventy-five per cent of the fathers who were employed were engaged in "industrial" occupations. The group, therefore, comes from families of a comparatively low socio-economic status.

The first factor to consider in the study of the leisure time of this group of children is the distribution of hours throughout the day. Obviously, the simplest element controlling their leisure is the actual number of hours and minutes left over from the duties which have to be attended to before they can turn to leisure-time activities. Nonleisure activities are those which offer little or no choice to the participant. They *have* to be attended to. One of the fundamentals in the concept of leisure time is the factor of choice. In one's leisure one may do what one chooses, and this concept furnishes the basis for a

division of the day into time spent for necessary activities and time spent for leisure.

The boys have more leisure time each day than do the girls because the girls are required to help out at home cleaning, washing, cooking, and looking after the younger children. Although the boys run errands and go on expeditions to collect firewood for the house, they do not spend as much time as the girls in helping out at home.

When the leisure time is examined in detail, it is immediately apparent that radio, the motion picture, and reading are consistently popular activities for both boys and girls. Outdoor play is popular for the boys' group as are walking and visiting and entertaining for the girls. Church activities absorb considerable time on Sunday and the girls frequently reported shopping on Saturday. These are the more important leisure-time activities.

After determining what activities absorb most of the leisure time of the children, the next step is to explain in detail what the children actually do. In this way it is possible to make some evaluation of their leisure-time experience with a view of possible changes and improvements.

Listening to the radio is a popular activity for both boys and girls. It is a high ranking activity for the boys on all days. On Thursday forty-seven per cent of the boys listened to the radio and spent thirty-five per cent of their leisure time on this activity. Likewise, the girls who listened in on Thursday spent forty-five per cent of their leisure time with the radio. Practically the same figures appear on Friday. On Saturday and Sunday the children listen longer, but because most of the day is leisure time they spend only about twenty-five per cent of their total leisure listening to the radio. This gives some indication, however, of the importance of the radio in the total amount of leisure time these boys and girls have each day.

Considered in the light of the large amount of time the children spend listening in, the programs which the broadcasting companies offer to the children and the comparative popularity of these programs become matters of concern. It seems inevitable that these children will acquire attitudes, standards, and patterns of behavior from their radio experience.

The children reported accurately the names of most of the programs they listened to and for this period of four days they named 150 different programs.

There is very little listening in to formal educational or informational programs, and of the various types of music only the modern popular music attracts the children to any degree. Only two per cent of the listening in is to news commentators and two per cent to classical music. Four types of programs are outstanding in popularity. These are "adventure serials," "comedians," "family serial stories," and "variety musical shows." Both "adventure serials" and "comedians" are more popular with the boys than with the girls. "Variety musical shows" and "family serial stories," on the other hand, are more popular with the girls than with the boys.

All four types are entertainment programs and include little or no informational material. Since these four classifications include seventy-nine per cent of the girls' listening and eighty-six per cent of the boys' listening, it is evident that the children of these groups listen to the radio largely for entertainment in the form of music, comedy, or excitement.

The obvious conclusion is that the educational influence of the radio on these children is largely informal. For some time each day they are exposed to modern dance music, to various types of comedy, and to thrilling stories of adventure.

The significance of the motion picture as a factor in the lives of boys and girls has become a matter of considerable concern. The motion-picture industry, teachers, parents, and social scien-

tists have come to recognize that movies play an important role in informal education.

Movie attendance with this group runs from a comparatively small percentage of the children on Thursday and Friday, the school days, to twenty-five per cent on Saturday and fifty per cent on Sunday. The impact of the motion pictures upon this group is, therefore, one of the major influences in their experience.

It has been definitely established by Charters's study that the motion picture is an extraordinarily potent factor in informal education. Children retain facts about pictures for at least three months and they accept the stories and situations shown in the films as true life patterns.

It would have been possible to examine each picture which this group of 1,100 children saw and come to some conclusion with regard to its value for the children. Such conclusions, however, would be open to criticism on the grounds of possible prejudice, partiality, or the individual taste of the investigator. Therefore, the opinions of two publications, *Educational Screen* and *Parents Magazine*, recognized as authorities in the field, were consulted. The judgments of these magazines as to whether or not these pictures should be seen by children of the age covered in this study were obtained.

The results of this study of 73 pictures indicates that eighty-four per cent of the pictures presented in this neighborhood were considered unsuitable for children of this age group by at least one of the authorities. There is no reason to believe that the 73 pictures shown on this weekend were much different from 73 which might be shown any other weekend. There would be slight variations in the types of picture shown, but there would not be enough variation to prevent the conclusion that the great majority of pictures presented by the community theaters is considered unsuitable for juvenile consumption. Tastes differ, but it is hard to avoid the conclusions forced upon one by the

overwhelmingly high percentage of nonchildren's films which are presented to the community and which the children may and do attend.

To clarify the situation further, it is necessary to determine which of the pictures offered to the community were the ones the children actually attended in any numbers. If the children used discrimination and chose to see films which were especially fitted for their age group, it might be possible to conclude that a community is justified in presenting over eighty-five per cent of its pictures for adult consumption. If the children used discrimination, they might concentrate on the other fifteen per cent and still not be exposing themselves to the more or less undesirable influences of the nonrecommended pictures.

A study of this phase of the problem revealed that the children's film attendance for this period was concentrated to the extent of seventy-seven per cent on films which at least one authority considered unsuitable for this age group. Accordingly it is possible to conclude that the children do not use discrimination to any great extent, but rather distribute their attendance quite evenly over the spread of film programs offered in the community.

Since studies have shown that motion pictures contribute to children's stores of information, the formation and change of their attitudes, and the molding of their patterns of behavior, the fact that a large proportion of their movie attendance is concentrated on nonchildren's pictures indicates that this important leisure-time activity constitutes a real problem for the community.

The study of reading as a leisure-time activity of junior-high-school children indicates that it is the most frequently mentioned activity over a period of four days. It maintains its high rank in popularity more consistently than any other one activity. Between thirty-eight and sixty-two per cent of the children in each

group report reading on the various days, averaging from about one hour on Thursday to about two hours on Sunday. Indoor activities such as reading, visiting and entertaining, and listening to the radio are consistently more popular with these girls than outdoor activities which are big factors in the boys' leisure time. This is quite understandable in view of the lack of facilities for outdoor play for girls, the home responsibilities which keep the Italian girls closer to the home, and the tradition of the Italian immigrant group which requires careful home supervision over the girls.

Girls report reading more frequently than boys and average more time spent in reading. The children spend from seventeen per cent to thirty-five per cent of their leisure time on reading. More reading is done on Sunday than on any other day.

By breaking down the reading into its subtypes, it is possible to find out the comparative importance of newspaper reading, books, and magazines in the reading experience of the children.

From forty-three to fifty-eight per cent of reading time is devoted to newspapers which are particularly popular on Sunday when both the girls and boys devote a major part of their reading time to reading the Sunday paper. In view of the high percentage of children reading the newspaper daily and the large part of their reading time devoted thereto, it appears that the newspapers operate both frequently and over some period of time each day in the informal educational process of the children.

The Daily News, New York's outstanding tabloid, is the most popular paper with both boys and girls. *The Daily Mirror*, the *New York Evening Journal*, and the *New York American* are all mentioned frequently. This indicates that both boys and girls read the more sensational and less literary and accurate New York papers.

Much of their information and understanding of the political and social life of the adult world is coming from the pictures and

news stories of sports, crime, vice, and politics, from the serial fiction stories of mystery and romance, from the columns of "advice to the lovelorn," and from the critical and editorial comment of these papers. Of course, the children do not read the paper from cover to cover nor do they examine the editorials carefully, but they can hardly avoid the pictures, headlines, stories, and comic strips.

The result of this type of educational experience in youth is to create an adult world whose concepts of family life, sex relationships, politics, crime, and war are those of the tabloid newspaper. In view of the fact that this is a second generation group knowing little of American culture, it is unfortunate that one of their few contacts should give them the distorted picture of American life which they see through the eyes of the reporters, the photographers, columnists, and editors of the tabloid newspapers.

Next to newspapers, books are the most popular reading materials. The children spend from seventeen to forty-three per cent of their reading time on books.

The most significant fact about the books which were reported by the children is that they are stories of people and experiences far from the children's own life patterns. Children like the exciting, imaginative, sentimental stories which are in distinct contrast to their immediate environment. These books furnish the elements of excitement and escape which have been evident in motion-picture and radio taste. This type of literature appears to be harmless enough but, on the other hand, absorption in this material prevents their becoming familiar with literature which might entertain and also provide some information about juvenile and adult life which the children, themselves, would enjoy and profit by. There appears to be very little of this material published for adolescents.

The magazines most popular with the girls are those contain-

ing fiction stories such as *Liberty*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Collier's*, women's magazines, and the *Love Story* type of magazine. Boys prefer mystery and aviation stories and scientific magazines. It is interesting to observe that film and love-story magazines are not popular with the boys, but rank high with the girls.

It is quite apparent that the magazines popular with these children will hardly develop any superior literary taste or critical powers in the youthful readers. It is difficult to say whether mystery and adventure stories have any harmful effect or not. The popularity of scientific magazines among boys is undoubtedly constructive. The popularity among girls of romantic fiction and motion-picture data found in film magazines reflects an interest in the various phases of sex relationships described therein. It is obvious that there should be sources for the sex information and satisfaction sought by these girls which would be more suitable than love-story and motion-picture magazines. Standards and social values acquired in this way are not likely to help a coming generation to adjust to a social world.

Listening to the radio, attending motion pictures, and reading are all indoor activities. The fourth major factor in the leisure time of these children is their outdoor recreation. Much of the time outdoors is spent just "hanging around." Children do not want to play organized games all the time.

A great variety of games and types of play were reported, however. Most of them were adapted to the city street as a locale. The boys varied from an hour and a half on school days to four hours on Saturday in outdoor activities. The girls, as pointed out in the discussion of reading and radio, do not spend as much time out-of-doors and their highest average time spent outdoors is an hour and a half on Saturday. These averages are in the early spring and might run considerably higher as warmer weather sets in.

It is during this time which these children spend on the street in unsupervised and uncontrolled activities that they are exposed to the worst elements of city life. There is the danger of automobile accidents in the streets. Gang life with its own standards and controls functions in forming patterns of behavior. The child is free to find excitement in delinquent activities. He acquires skills and information which are useful to him in delinquent behavior, but he misses those which might help him function constructively.

This is obviously the place where the community must assume responsibility. Play streets, playgrounds, and parks staffed with trained workers are essential. The significant point, however, is that such programs are most difficult to organize and administer in just the areas where they are most needed.

Although one half of the children reported that they belonged to some recreational agency, the highest participation in any supervised recreation was sixteen per cent of the boys on Friday. The agencies in the community, therefore, have on their rolls only one half of the children and attracted less than one sixth of them to their supervised activities in any one day. Apparently there is a large field as yet untouched in the community.

The major contribution of a study of this kind to the community is to enable the forces and organized agencies in the community to provide for the shifting interests and needs of the children upon a basis of facts actually down in black and white. This enables the workers in the community who can see the need for advance and change to function on the basis of the actual community situation. Such change and advance are essential if education is to keep pace with social and economic movements. It can be done most effectively by redirecting and enriching those factors already recognized as present in community life.

SOCIAL PLANNING IN A COMMUNITY

HARRY ARTHUR WANN

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The dominant characteristic of the American community is disorganization. The indictment is commonly made that the community is overorganized, but even a cursory examination will convince one that while there are multitudes of organizations and institutions in the community there is no integrating purpose directing their efforts. The community is overorganized only in the sense that it has too many independent organizations and institutions, which operate on an individualistic basis with no common purpose or program and with the resultant community disorganization.

The transition in America from the simple agrarian life of a few decades ago to the present complex, industrialized, urbanized life has given rise to new needs and to numerous problems. In an effort to meet these new needs, new organizations and institutions were founded and old institutions enlarged their plants and extended their programs. Schools developed elaborate offerings of extracurricular activities and intramural athletics. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Pioneers, Four-H Club programs, and numerous other organizations for boys and girls were formed. The churches organized young people's societies and incorporated athletics, dramatics, and social activities as a part of their programs. Community centers, settlement houses, Boys' Clubs, recreation commissions, camps, play centers, and numerous other forms of organization entered the community to meet the needs of children and youth in the urban centers. Commercialized amusements and entertainment found a lucrative field in this new life, and the amusement resorts, motion pictures, poolrooms, roadhouses, and professional athletics vied with service institutions for the time and support of the

young. The various service organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Four-H Clubs, Young Men's Christian Associations, Boys' Clubs of America, and many others soon became national organizations with headquarters staffs whose business it was, among other things, to extend the organizations into new fields. Promoters and organizers went about from community to community seeking to form new chapters, or councils, or buildings, according to their particular form of organization. All too often well-meaning promoters victimized the local community in the sense that a new institution or organization was introduced into the community with too little regard for its need and with no regard for the fact that it must necessarily enter into competition with similar organizations which were performing the same service.

As a result of this type of unplanned community growth we have the sorry spectacle of so-called character-building and service organizations openly competing for the time of the boys and girls they purport to serve, competing for the time of voluntary leaders, trustees, or directors, and competing for financial support. Under this pattern of community disorganization there is competition for the time and support of those who need the services of the institutions least and often those in areas of greatest need are entirely neglected. This is not a picture of an exceptional community, but rather it is characteristic of a typical American community of which Madison, New Jersey, may be taken as an example.

An experiment in social planning has been conducted by local community leadership in Madison, New Jersey, during the past eight years under the title of the Madison Social Planning Council. The leadership of the various institutions and agencies of the community has been brought together in the Social Planning Council for the purpose of studying the needs of the community and providing for those needs cooperatively.

Madison is a suburban residential town located in the beautiful terminal moraine section of New Jersey, twenty-four miles directly west of the Hudson Tubes entrance to New York City. Its population of approximately eight thousand is composed of about five thousand native-born white, five hundred Negroes, and two thousand five hundred foreign born or of foreign extraction, in which latter group the Italians predominate. The only large industry in the community is rose growing. This employs comparatively few people. The majority of the workers are commuters to New York City and to other centers in the metropolitan area. The extremes of wealth and poverty are found in the community. Many workers are employed on the estates of the wealthy and in personal service. A large relief clientele has resulted during the years of the depression, especially among those formerly engaged in the building trades.

The educational institutions in Madison are Drew University, Brothers College, a private elementary school, a Catholic parochial school, and public elementary and high schools. The churches include the Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Colored Baptist. A Young Men's Christian Association building provides a program for both sexes; a Settlement House offers a varied program for the so-called underprivileged. Other organizations serving various needs are Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Public Library, American Association of University Women, Thursday Morning Club (a woman's club), Rotary, Kiwanis, Elks, Masons, Junior Order of American Mechanics, American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, Forum Club (an Italian men's club), and numerous other social, service, political, recreational, and health organizations. These organizations and institutions are listed not because they represent an unusual array but rather because they emphasize the fact that Madison is a typical community.

Social planning in Madison began in 1928 with a youth survey which was initiated by the Boy's Work Committee of the Rotary Club. Representatives of all of the organizations working with youth of school age were called into conference to discuss the value of a survey and finally to plan and carry out the survey. Leaders in the public, private, and parochial schools, Catholic and Protestant churches, service clubs, the Young Men's Christian Association, Settlement House, Scouts, and recreation commissions coöperated in the survey. The questionnaire method was used. This was administered through the public, private, and parochial schools from the fourth grade through the senior high school. The committee was interested in finding the membership of youth in the various agencies, the extent of participation in youth programs, and areas of neglect. The details of the survey will not be presented here. The chief value of this procedure was threefold: (1) It revealed extensive overlapping of programs and duplication of services; (2) it discovered individuals and groups that were totally untouched by the institutional programs, and (3) it was the means of bringing together the leadership of the institutions and agencies to study coöperatively community problems.

After several meetings of this survey committee composed of priests and preachers, schoolmen, and social-service leaders, the group decided that a permanent organization was essential. The Madison Social Planning Council was then organized to meet this need. The resolution providing for the formation of the Social Planning Council states the purpose of the organization as follows: "RESOLVED: That, we, the representatives of the Community Organizations listed with our names, shall immediately organize as a Social Planning Council for the Youth of Madison, New Jersey. The Social Planning Council is designed to be the agent of all the organizations for those studies and projects which these organizations may voluntarily wish to

undertake as a whole or in groups, in order that each may extend its program, integrate its relations with other organizations doing similar work, and make its service to youth in Madison more effective, if possible." The Social Planning Council has no constitution or by-laws, and no dues. The officers are chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary.

The necessity for extensive study of this new approach to community planning was obvious from the outset. Community problems had been met, up to this time, by individual organizations promoting independent programs, usually with little knowledge of the programs of other organizations in the community, and too often in direct competition with other agencies which were trying to meet the same needs. The Social Planning Council proposed to approach the solution of community problems coöperatively. Rethinking of philosophies and reorientation of approaches were required. A Social Planning Seminar was organized in connection with Drew University to provide opportunity for an intensive study of this problem. For two years community leaders including priests, preachers, schoolmen, settlement-house director, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, sociology professor, dean of the School of Religious Education, graduate students, and others met two hours each week under the leadership of the supervising principal of the public schools to think through the implications of social planning and to bring order into community organization. Graduate credit in the University was given those who met University requirements.

The following simple formula which was devised by the Seminar has provided the basis of operation of the Social Planning Council. (1) What are the needs? (2) How are these needs being met? (3) How can these needs best be met? Directing the thinking of the leaders to the question "What are the needs?" immediately diverted their attention from institu-

tions and traditional programs and philosophies. The second step, "How are these needs being met?" necessitated an analysis of existing facilities, programs, leadership, and organization. The final step, "How can these needs best be met?" entailed an evaluation of the existing policies and programs and the projection of a program which would most adequately meet various human needs in the community. The findings and recommendations of the Social Planning Seminar were brought before the Social Planning Council from time to time.

The Social Planning Council is composed of two representatives from each organization in the community. These representatives are elected or appointed by their own organizations. The Social Planning Council meets four times during the year. Problems are presented for discussion, recommendations made and committees appointed to conduct studies, carry out specific commissions, and report back to the Social Planning Council.

From the beginning care was exercised in avoiding issues and problems which were highly controversial. In order to bring together leaders who held opposing views in matters of faith or creed or politics, it was considered essential that their points of divergence should be minimized and that emphasis be placed on areas of need where substantial agreement could be attained readily. A policy was also adopted of promoting as many and as varied activities as possible which would involve the cooperation of the various leaders and their constituency. This led to a growing understanding and friendship between those who seldom met in a cooperative relationship. The fact that social change comes slowly was realized from the beginning, so that those who were in position of leadership were content to progress without haste, allowing time for reorientation of thinking and easy adjustment of programs and policy within the various agencies and organizations.

The work of the Social Planning Council is carried on by com-

mittees composed of representatives of the various natural interest groups who are concerned with the particular problem under consideration. Some of the community problems which have been attacked by these committees, the methods employed, and the results attained follow.

1. *Community Calendar Committee.* Conflicting dates involving two or more organizations in the community presented an annoying and difficult problem so long as there was no clearing office for such dates. An individual's loyalties were often in conflict when he discovered that his church was holding a dinner on the same night that his club met, or that a tennis tournament was scheduled on the same afternoon that his scout troop had planned a hike. Community affairs designed to attract large audiences and appealing to the same groups often resulted in ill feeling between sponsoring organizations. A Community Calendar Committee was appointed with instructions to procure the calendar of dates of every member organization, compile the dates in chronological order, discover conflicts, and call such conflicts to the attention of the organizations involved. This study not only revealed conflicts of major dates but also brought to the attention of the Committee overlapping of programs. A permanent Community Calendar Committee was established with the office of the supervising principal of schools as headquarters. All calendars are submitted to this office. All dates of general interest are registered on the community calendar. A column of "Coming Events" is provided for the local newspapers and is published for several weeks in advance. This Committee not only has eliminated major conflicts of dates but has brought about many major changes in programs, enabling organizations to serve the community better.

2. *Public Health Council.* A committee was organized to study the health needs of the community, to survey the various health programs and services in the community, to evaluate their

programs and services, and, finally, to propose a reorganization of the community health program in keeping with the best current practices in other communities. As a result of the work of this Committee the nursing services in the community were reorganized with their work coordinated and placed under one supervising committee. As vacancies occurred in nursing positions, replacements were made with persons who were not only registered nurses but who had, in addition, public-health training. The plan calls for a generalized program rather than the usual specialized program.

The Public Health Council was organized for the purpose of coordinating all of the health services in the community. Its membership is composed of the school physician, nurses, physical directors, representative from the Board of Health, public-health officer, teachers of science, social science, home economics, hygiene and health, visiting teacher, elementary supervisor, representative of the Catholic parochial school, County Tuberculosis Association, and supervising principal of schools. The Council meets once each month to hear reports of committees and to discuss new problems. The work of the council is carried out through committees such as : (1) Safety Committee which inspects public buildings, organizes and supervises safety patrols, sponsors an automobile drivers' club in the high school, provides posters, motion pictures, and educational material for classes and assemblies, etc. (2) Sight Conservation Committee. This Committee studies classroom lighting and seating, room decoration as it affects lighting, type size for books, etc. It has been instrumental in having one elementary school rewired for lighting and entirely redecorated in order to get proper light reflection, and has made major changes in the lighting of other buildings. (3) Nutrition Committee. This group studies the weight variations of school children, recommends for special physical examination in some cases, provides free feeding for malnourished children, contacts

the family in all cases of underweight and overweight, and conducts instruction in diet. (4) Tuberculosis Committee. A tuberculosis survey was conducted by this Committee among all children of grades seven through twelve and among the teaching staff. Extensive educational work on the cause and cure of tuberculosis was followed by the Manteaux testing of all those to be surveyed. All positive reactors were X-rayed and follow-up made with the families where further work was to be done. This program was carried out in 1935. During the spring semester of 1936 a follow-up campaign is planned to survey the new students and those who were missed the previous year. Space will not permit elaboration on the work of such committees as those on foot correction, dental needs, hearing, immunization, contagious disease control, and curriculum.

The Public Health Council has been functioning for four years. It has not only achieved results in many areas of health needs, but has created a health consciousness in the schools and community.

3. *Recreation Committee.* This committee operating under the Social Planning Council conducted a survey in the public schools of the recreational habits of children, their preferences for various forms of recreation, and their feeling about needs in the community for additional facilities. Some of the results of the work of this Committee are the building of four tennis courts with W. P. A. labor on grounds owned by the Board of Education, financed in part by the Borough Council, and to be supervised jointly by the Recreation Commission and the Physical Education Department of the public schools. Picnic grounds and an overnight camping site were constructed by the same groups coöperating, and an extensive athletic field and playground are under construction with similar coöperation. This committee has been instrumental in modifying recreational programs to prevent overlapping and to meet the needs of neglected

groups. The procedure has been, first, to gather significant sociological data, then procure coöperation of all of the agencies engaged in recreational work in carrying into effect the proposed projects or programs.

4. *Religious Education Committee.* Difficulty has been experienced by the Social Planning Council in the field of religious education because of the fact that education as a whole has been handled piecemeal instead of as a life experience. Religious education has been considered as essentially different from secular education. The church and the public school have each worked independently of the other. The child has been taught by each of these institutions as if the other did not exist. Duplication in curricular content and lack of coördination of these agencies of either program or policy has made the program of education less effective than it might be if education were looked upon as "the total of one's reactions to all of his experiences" rather than as a series of unrelated accumulations. The Committee on Religious Education has conducted a religious week-day school and is correlating the curriculum of this school with the public-school curriculum. Organizations dealing with high-school students such as the Young People's Associations in the churches, the Hi-Y clubs, Girl Reserves, and the literature and social-studies classes in the high school are planning correlated programs. Leaders in church, school, and so-called character-building agencies are studying the problem of developing a coöperative community program of character development which will integrate the work of all of the institutions and agencies dealing with youth.

5. *Madison Film Committee.* The Payne Fund Studies demonstrated the effect of the films on children. The Social Planning Council became interested in studying the problem of the films in the local community and in planning a program of action which would serve to understand the problems of the local exhibitor

such as block-booking and blind-selling, and also to educate parents and children in an appreciation of the best in films. A committee of fifteen prominent community leaders was organized to conduct studies and to propose action. The film habits of children and adults in the community were studied through questionnaires and through a study of attendance at the local theater. Extensive studies were made of the motion-picture industry from producer to exhibitor and also the legislation regulating the industry. Film committees were organized, through the efforts of members of the Madison Film Committee, in three neighboring towns which are served by the same independent motion-picture circuit. These four film committees were federated in an intercommunity film committee for the purpose of cooperating with the theater owner in procuring the best possible films. A project immediately undertaken by the intercommunity film committee was the publication of a *Film Bulletin* which gives the programs to be shown in each of the theaters on the circuit over a period of two weeks and which gives an evaluation of these films. This publication is circulated to subscribers in each of the communities, to the school libraries, churches, and other organizations. It has been published and distributed biweekly over a period of three years.

6. *Guidance Committee.* The Social Planning Council organized a Guidance Committee with the high-school principal as chairman and with representatives from twelve community organizations cooperating. This Committee includes churches, labor groups, American Legion, American Association of University Women, Rotary, Kiwanis, etc. In addition to the extensive guidance program conducted in the high school the Council felt that local community resources should be utilized for vocational and educational guidance. A list of men and women representing a wide range of business and professional experience and of training and education was prepared. These persons were

interviewed by members of the Committee and were informed of the purpose and details of the plan. If they were interested and were considered competent for counseling youth, a form card was filled out giving such data as address, telephone number, occupation, education, college or professional school attended, and hours available for interviews. These cards were filed alphabetically in the office of the high-school principal. A cross index was prepared for vocations and another for colleges. When the high-school counselors find a boy or girl who is interested in a particular vocation, reference is made to the vocations file, the most suitable counselor is selected, and an interview is arranged between the boy or girl and the adult who is engaged in the vocation in question. The same procedure is followed regarding colleges and professional schools. This plan has resulted in college scholarship for worthy students, personal financial help by interested counselors, and in some cases permanent employment for students who impressed the counselor with their capability and promise. The counselors became intensely interested in the community program of education and in the youth of the community through these contacts. Group vocational and educational counseling also utilized these counselors. The committee on guidance is operating on the theory that every boy and girl should have the opportunity of education to the extent to which he is capable of profiting by it, and that every boy and girl should have the privilege of employment. It is endeavoring to realize these ideals.

7. *Committee on Out-of-School and Out-of-Work Youth.* In 1934 the Social Planning Council organized a committee to study the youth in the community who had completed school or who had dropped out and were unemployed. A survey was conducted, with the coöperation of the schools, and a census of such youth was taken. Most of these young men and women were interviewed to discover what they wanted. In almost every

case the chief desire of these young people was employment. In an effort to meet this demand the Committee set up an employment office. Interviews were arranged with these young men and women and each was listed for placement in such a position as he or she seemed qualified to fill. Some placements have been made. Many of the group, however, are untrained for specific employment and are in that sense unemployable. The Committee has brought to the attention of the Council the dire need for vocational training. A movement is under way to conduct a county-wide study of the need for vocational training, and of the feasibility of establishing a county vocational school which might meet this need. Another study is being considered to survey the problem of domestic employment. There is a great demand in the community for domestic help but many girls will not accept this type of work even though they are unemployed and are in need of financial help. The problem of this so-called "lost generation" is most baffling. No solution is apparent yet, but the Social Planning Council recognizes the need and is attempting to find an answer.

8. *Community Case Study Conference.* The efforts of the Social Planning Council to work out a community calendar led immediately to a study of the programs of institutions. The study of the overlapping programs and of neglected areas pushed the question of service and adjustment back to the individual. The Council felt that effective work could be done in the various areas of need only to the extent that such service would meet the needs of the individual. In 1934 the Community Case Study Conference was organized. The personnel of this Conference includes a Catholic priest, ministers of the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, African Methodist, and Colored Baptist churches, Young Men's Christian Association secretary, director of the Settlement House, relief director, patrolman from the police department, visiting teacher, high-school principal, elementary

supervisor, supervising principal of schools, dean of the School of Religious Education of Drew University, child-hygiene nurses, a psychiatric social worker and the director of the North Jersey Mental Hygiene Clinic, and a representative of the Morris County Tuberculosis Association. This Conference meets once each month. Regular case-work procedure is followed in studies of maladjusted children. The cases brought before the conference include delinquency of individuals and gangs, personality difficulty, family maladjustment, health problems, school failure, emotional disturbances, sex problems, and questions of institutionalization and placement.

The Community Case Study Conference provides an opportunity for all of the agencies dealing with a boy or girl to exchange experiences, analyze difficulties, decide on a course of collective action, and at the next meeting to check up on the results attained. The whole procedure is educational for those participating, and has led to a more sympathetic understanding of the problems of children and youth, and, at the same time, to a better working relationship on the part of the institutions whose leadership participates in the conferences. During the past three years only one child from Madison has been committed to a correctional institution, and there is at the present time one child on probation and one on parole from an institution.

9. *Sociological Base Map.* In 1934 a committee of the Social Planning Council completed a sociological base map of Madison. This map has been invaluable in making the many sociological studies which are basic for social planning work, and in providing a medium for graphic presentation of sociological data. The base map conforms to the standards which have been developed by Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher of the department of educational sociology in New York University. Among other things the map has been used to plot vital statistics, ecological studies, mem-

bership in organizations, such as schools, Scouts, churches, housing, recreational facilities, population expansion, etc. Such a map is indispensable for social planning and should be one of the first studies undertaken by a Social Planning Council.

The Social Planning Council of Madison, New Jersey, represents a pioneering experiment in social control. It is an effort to direct consciously the development of a community along lines seemingly conducive to the greatest good of the individual and of the group. Social planning necessitates seeing life as a whole rather than in its various parts. It looks upon the individual as an integrated personality rather than as a participant in isolated experiences.

The greatest handicap to social planning is "institutional-mindedness," by which we mean the propensity of leaders to think always and only in terms of their own institution. This is to be expected, however, since leaders are trained by institutions for institutional service. Schoolmen in all of their professional training study schools, school philosophy, and school programs only. Ministers are schooled in the theological schools where training for church leadership monopolizes the thinking so exclusively that no time is left for a comprehensive vision of life in other areas. The same is true of the professional training of men for leadership in the Young Men's Christian Association, Scouting, social work, etc. Compartmentalization of thinking results in "institutional-mindedness." Breaking through the barriers set by this "pigeon-holing" of life interests is a slow and often painful process, but it is a prerequisite to "community-mindedness" which is the *sine qua non* of social planning.

The Madison Social Planning Council quite obviously has not solved all of the community problems. It has, however, established a pattern of thought and action in social planning which may be adapted to the needs of other communities and which may eventuate in a new type of social organization.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Asiatics, by FREDERICK PROKOSCH. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, 423 pages.

Written in the first person singular, this book might well have used the first person plural pronoun, for the reader journeys beside the author. From Beirut to the dying city of Istanbul, to Damascus Aleppo and Erzerum and on throughout this strange land of contrasts we travel with him. We pause in Buddhist rest houses, mingle with motley crowds in the open square, in market places and in cafes, and at night we gaze out over strange scenes or our restless sleep is disturbed by the weird cries of the occidental night. We have strange companions on our journeys and always we are in conversation with priests, beggars, merchants, secretariats, women of all classes. We travel weary miles over mud-drenched roads, ride camels over sanded wastes, and occasionally skim across waters in modern motor boats and ride in luxurious European cars.

For those who can enjoy such a journey, who can endure realism without nausea, and who earnestly seek to learn the day to day existence of this half of the world's population this book is written.

By Pacific Means, by MANLEY O. HUDSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, 199 pages.

At a time when the God of War has unsheathed his reeking sword and all the world is tense, this book comes as a welcome antidote to our fears and questionings. Through an unusually clear and readable analysis, the author presents the specific agencies available for the settlement of international disputes in contrast to those prior to 1914: the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and specific treaties such as the Paris Peace Pact.

The latter half of the volume is devoted to appendices giving nine documents illustrating the different types of agreements for settlement of international disputes by pacific means.

Land of the Free, by HERBERT AGAR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935, 305 pages.

The author has presented a defense of democratic ideals. Although the first part reviews the past hundred years of our history, it is more than an historical résumé, as it is this period that has witnessed the generaliza-

tion of the American ideal. In Part II, the author analyzes American culture and finds that we have much of which we may be justly proud.

The last part, "The Struggle for Power," is a thoughtful analysis of the relative values of fascism, communism, and capitalism. Taking sharp issue with Strachey, Mr Agar believes that our present economic and political systems present the greatest potentiality for the future welfare of our country and make an earnest plea for a reawakened interest in those cherished ideals which have made us "the Land of the Free."

Capitalism and Its Culture, by JEROME DAVIS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936, 554 pages.

Through a careful, factual analysis, the author surveys the working of capitalism in the modern world: a controlled press, the monopoly of radio, a refracted education, the interlocking control of religion, control by bankers, the double standard for employer and employee, and the subsidized state.

This is a realistic study, presenting both the favorable and unfavorable elements of our present capitalistic system. Because of its very impartial treatment, the reader must give serious consideration to the author's conclusion: "It should be clear to every impartial student of our economic order that the era of capitalism is almost over, even if some decades elapse before the closing finale."

Labor and the Government, by ALFRED L. BERNHEIM and DOROTHY VAN DOREN. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935, xii + 413 pages.

This volume is composed of the report of a special research staff of the Twentieth Century Fund, an analysis of the findings, and specific recommendations for Federal legislation. It is a comprehensive, factual, and unbiased analysis of organized labor and its interrelation with government.

The 1932 Campaign: An Analysis, by ROY V. PEEL and THOMAS C. DONNELLY, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, viii + 242 pages.

A factual analysis of the 1932 election, including the selection of candidates, determining platforms, and methods of propaganda. Coming on the eve of the next presidential campaign, this book may be read with both interest and profit.

Pareto's General Sociology: A Physiologist's Interpretation, by LAWRENCE J. HENDERSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, vii + 118 pages.

The recent publication of *Pareto's Sociology* must invariably bring with it a number of commentaries upon it from those who have the time and patience to analyze its involved verbiage. This is such a book. It is, however, only a dictionary of Pareto's terminology using a layman's vocabulary, and reduced to less than fifty pages exclusive of "notes." It is neither a critique nor an interpretation.

Psychology and Health, by H. BANISTER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, 264 pages.

In this book the author has skillfully presented the psychological aspects of medical practice. He begins with a brief but thorough résumé of psychological theories. With the stage set, he proceeds to set forth the various situations in which the psychological aspect of disease is paramount. The book is of value to both laymen and to practitioners of medicine.

The Sociological Theories of William Torrey Harris, by THOMAS HENRY CLARE. St. Louis: Washington University, 1934, 262 pages.

This study is a significant contribution to the field of educational sociology as it brings to the fore the writings of one of its earliest exponents and greatest leaders. For more than forty years, Dr. Harris advocated the present point of view of educational sociology, that the fundamental purpose of all education is social adjustment and that in the fulfillment of this purpose all of the agencies of education must cooperate. The author has made an exhaustive study and excellent analysis of the voluminous writings of Dr. Harris. He has succeeded in bringing them together in a clear, forceful manner and with fine organization. The book is earnestly commended to every student of educational sociology and will be of genuine interest and value to all vitally interested in the problems of social control.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Activity Program*, by A. GORDON MELVIN. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock.
- Basis for the Theory of Medicine*, by A. D. SPERANSKY. New York: International Publishers.
- Can We Be Neutral?* by ALLEN W. DULLES AND HAMILTON F. ARMSTRONG. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Children's Fears*, by ARTHUR T. JERSILD AND FRANCES B. HOLES. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Coming World War*, by T. H. WINTRINGHAM. New York: Thomas Seltzer.
- Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problem Children*, by HARRY J. BAKER AND VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Dictatorship in the Modern World*, edited by GUY STANTON FORD. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Education in the Kindergarten*, by JOSEPHINE C. FOSTER AND NEITH E. HEADLEY. New York: American Book Company.
- Education on the Air: Radio and Education, 1935*, edited by LEVERING TYSON AND JOSEPHINE McLATCHY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Education and the Social Conflict*, by HOWARD DAVID LANGFORD. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Education of Today*, edited by E. D. LABORDE. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fascism and National Socialism*, by MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Growth of American Higher Education*, by ELBERT VAUGHN WILLS. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company.
- Home and Family*, by HELEN MOUGEY JORDAN, M. LOUISA ZILLER, AND JOHN FRANKLIN BROWN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Interpretations, 1933-1935*, by WALTER LIPPMANN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Introductory Sociology*, by DANIEL H. KULP, II. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- I Knew Them in Prison*, by MARY B. HARRIS. New York: Viking Press.
- Job Satisfaction*, by ROBERT HOPFÖCK. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Leadership Among Adolescent Boys*, by E. DEALTON PARTRIDGE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Lost Generation*, by MAXINE DAVIS. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Modern Man*, by HARVEY FERGUSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Parents' Questions*, by THE STAFF OF THE CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA. New York: Harper and Brothers.

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EDITORIAL

The theme of the present number of THE JOURNAL is Social Attitudes and Their Relation to Education. The contributors were asked to select that aspect of the subject in which they were most interested, and the "guest editor" takes this opportunity of thanking each of them for their coöperation.

The six who write present six facets of the subject; but the discerning reader will have no difficulty in discovering the thread of unity. Professor Blumer calls attention to an important and neglected aspect of the concept itself, which should aid in its clarification. Professor Warner contributes an interesting chapter from his yet unpublished researches showing how organic is the relation between the social structure and the work of the school. Closely related is the article of Professor Dawson who offers sound reasons for a recognition of the effects of education on the attitudes to which the curriculum is only indirectly related, at least so far as the content is concerned. Dr. Faris calls attention to unsuspected aspects of the environment and the possibility that exceptional talent or genius may depend to a large degree on social influences that are overlooked. Professor Kirkpatrick is one of the most active men now doing research on attitudes and his discussion of the attitudes toward marriage and sex concerns an area of life as difficult as it is important. And, finally, we have, in Professor Waller's report of

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his investigation of the attitudes of practice teachers, a most interesting study of the attitudes of those on the other side of the desk.

If we define the word attitude a little broadly and let its meaning include all the acquired tendencies to action, behavior, or conduct, including the habits of mind as well as of body, then education may be said to be concerned chiefly with attitudes. But whether this terminology or some other be preferred is of no consequence. We should never dispute about words. It is the thing denoted by the word that it is important to understand.

The task of the editor of this number has been modest and easy. He only had to secure six good men to write, and he is sure that the readers of *THE JOURNAL* will agree that what has been contributed is of real interest and value.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND NONSYMBOLIC INTERACTION

HERBERT BLUMER

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My chief interest in this paper is to treat in a more conspicuous fashion one phase of social attitudes and of their development that is usually ignored or given but minor consideration. I refer to their affective nature as set apart from their ideational content or symbolical character. In the usual discussions where some attempt is made to analyze the nature and, so to speak, to describe the structure of social attitudes, attention is given primarily to the symbolic character. In regarding the attitude as an orientation on the part of the individual, as a "set" of his musculature, as a tendency to act in a given way, or as an incipient preparation to a scheme of conduct, there is usually an implied emphasis on the meaning of the object or situation to which the orientation is had. It does not matter whether the "meaning" is lodged in the structure of nerve and muscle, as the physiologically minded incline to believe, or in a set of images or mental constructions, or in the object. The point is that the attitude as usually depicted represents a plan of action dependent upon the meaningful character of the object or situation toward which it is directed. As such the "symbolical" character of the object incorporated in the attitude as a plan of action receives the stress; the affective nature of the attitude is ignored or given minimal attention.

This point stands out more clearly in the treatment given to the way in which the social milieu enters into the formation of an attitude to give it its social character. This treatment usually is expressed in the declaration that the social milieu "defines" the relatively unformed activity of the individual. The responses of others to one's own activity are regarded as signifying the

line along which that activity may go. Here the thought is that these responses of others give the individual primarily a "realization," "interpretation," or "meaning" which represents the way in which the object of his act is socially interpreted and the way in which that object is likely to be construed on subsequent occasions. Hence the individual's attitude or approach to that object becomes organized on the basis of the symbolic character of the object as that has been outlined by the acts of others. To view the formation of attitudes in this way is not, in my judgment, intrinsically wrong, but it does tend, as remarked above, to emphasize the symbolic feature and to minimize the element of feeling.

It is this feeling side of the attitude that I wish to single out for consideration. I regard feeling as being intrinsic to every social attitude, and, as such, as differentiating attitudes from other types of orientation which in terms of definition would be regarded as attitudes by many writers. Common usage seems to me to carry an implicit recognition of the affective element. Thus we speak of attitudes toward such objects as parents, country, races, groups, and professions. Sentiments and feelings are involved in the relations to such objects. Contrariwise, we do not speak ordinarily of an attitude to such things as, let us say, pencils, chairs, or doorknobs. Certainly, to such objects people in our culture have defined ways of acting represented by tendencies, muscular sets, or orientations. But in common parlance such sets or tendencies are spoken of as attitudes only when they are marked by some feeling. Thus a person may dislike to use pencils, or an Oriental may have an aversion to chairs which he finds it torturousome to sit in. In these instances, one would, I think, immediately speak of attitudes. An affective element has entered in. It is the presence of this element which seems to justify one in speaking of a given orientation or activity tendency as an attitude.

In the theoretical discussions of the nature of attitudes there is, of course, plenty of declaration that attitudes may be marked by strong feelings, and most of the testing devices, as I am familiar with them, proceed on the assumption of the presence of this character. Yet the general tendency is to think of feeling as an *ex parte* element which may be added to certain attitudes but which is absent from others; the essential part of the attitude is held to consist in its orientation, in the implied symbolic content determining its direction. Such a view I believe to be wrong. Feeling is intrinsic to every social attitude—it is not to be treated as an additional element fused into some symbolic structure which is to be regarded as central to, or as the corpus of, the attitude.

I am not concerned here with any serious effort to consider the peculiar role or function of the feeling or affective side of the attitude. I believe, however, that this role is quite important. It seems that it is the affective element which ensures the attitude of its vigor, sustains it in the face of attack, and preserves it from change. Common usage seems to have caught this recognition and given it expression in the popular realization that to change a person's attitudes one must change his feelings.

My purpose, then, is to call attention to two phases of attitudes: (1) a symbolic aspect represented in the specific direction of the tendency, and (2) an affective aspect assuring the attitude its liveliness, its movement, its vigor, and its tenacity.

This affective aspect of the attitude is not only slighted in definition—it has not been given due consideration in the discussions of the process of interaction out of which attitudes arise. Here again the treatment has been weighted heavily on the side of the symbolic content, stressing the formation of the attitude on the level of communication; *i.e.*, in terms of definition or of the conveying of a meaning. Such treatment has not given proper recognition to the fullness and diversity of what

takes place in interaction, and so has yielded, in my judgment, only a partial statement of what is involved in the formation of attitudes.

While we have only limited knowledge of what occurs in the interaction between human beings, I think one can recognize that the process has at least two levels, levels which perhaps represent extremes, with different admixtures of the two in between. I prefer to call the two levels the symbolic and the non-symbolic. Little need be said here of symbolic interaction, since this is the one phase of interaction which has been given a great deal of treatment in the literature, although with results that are none too convincing. It is usually what is considered under the rubric of communication where that term is used carefully and with circumspection. Suffice it to say that on this level individuals respond to the *meaning* or *significance* of one another's actions. The gesture of the other is subject to interpretation which provides the basis for one's own response. We may say, roughly, that at this level of interaction the stimulus-response couplet has inserted a middle term in the form of interpretation which implies some checking of immediate reaction, and leads, as suggested, to directed response upon the basis of the meaning assigned to the gesture.

Interaction on its nonsymbolic level operates, in my judgment, in an intrinsically different way. It is marked by spontaneous and direct response to the gestures and actions of the other individual, without the intermediation of any interpretation. That there is involved a lively process of interaction of this sort when people meet is, I think, undeniable, although it is difficult to detect. People are unaware of this kind of response just because it occurs spontaneously, without a conscious or reflective fixing of attention upon those gestures of the other to which one is responding.

It is this nonsymbolic phase of interaction that should be con-

sidered with reference to the formation of the affective element of social attitudes. It is from this type of interaction chiefly that come the feelings that enter into social and collective attitudes. They arise from the unwitting, unconscious responses that one makes to the gestures of others. To state this point is one thing; to prove it, another. However, I believe a good case can be made for the assertion, and an appreciation of its validity can be given, by considering the phenomenon of impression, especially the formation of first impressions. It is a familiar experience in meeting people for the first time to discover in oneself immediate likes or dislikes, without any clear understanding of the basis of these feelings. Something in the form of a spontaneous and undirected response has taken place, establishing a feeling and providing a basis for one's judgment. Even when one can give some explanation of his feelings in terms of traits of the others, most frequently the designation of the traits follows the having of the feeling. Seldom, I think, in the give and take of social intercourse, is the having of impressions dependent upon a prior analysis of the symbolic value of the other's traits. An individual who approached all his social relations solely on the premise of such a preliminary analysis would, I think, be exceedingly awkward in making adjustments, assuming that he could get along at all. The very nature of first impressions seems to me to point to their immediacy.

There is presupposed here a direct and spontaneous response to others which analysis can show more easily to be unwitting than to be *conscious*. Such impressions, it should be remarked, are not trivial. That they provide the immediate bases for the direction of conduct is clear, that they are less readily changed than formed I think will also be found to be true. Their consideration suggests that it is probably the organization set up by unwitting response which is the foundation of social attitudes; it is such organization that has to be changed if any significant alteration is to be made in these attitudes

This suggested relation of the affective aspect of social attitudes to nonsymbolic interaction invites further analysis. On its stimulus side nonsymbolic interaction is constituted, I believe, by expressive behavior; *i.e.*, a release of feeling and tension, to be distinguished as different from indication of intellectual intention, which properly comes on the symbolic level. Expressive behavior is presented through such features as quality of the voice—tone, pitch, volume—in facial set and movement, in the look of the eyes, in the rhythm, vigor, agitation of muscular movements, and in posture. These form the channels for the disclosure of feeling. It is through these that the individual, as we say, reveals himself as apart from what he says or does. Expressive behavior is primarily a form of release, implying a background of tension. It tends to be spontaneous and unwitting; as such, it usually appears as an accompaniment of intentional and consciously directed conduct.

There is, I think, common recognition that expressive gestures are especially effective in catching attention and creating impression. Stripped of expressive features, the act of the other person is not likely to incite or inspire, is missing in dramatic qualities, and requires some coercion of attention in order to be held before one. All of us have had experience with discourse whose symbolic content may have been of intrinsic merit but which failed to gain attention and failed to make an impression. Likewise, to take a contrary example, we are all familiar with the speaker, orator, or lecturer whose display of interest and enthusiasm, whose use of dramatic utterance, and whose lively play of expressive gesture all combine to overshadow a meager symbolic statement. It is the overtone of expressive gesture which makes the stimulation fascinating and effective.

Expressive gestures seem to enjoy a special uniqueness in gaining ready and immediate responsiveness. Speaking metaphorically, one might declare that human beings are delicately

attuned to one another on the level of expressive behavior. They seem to be especially sensitive to such display on the part of others. Expressive behavior exerts a claim on one's attention; to ignore it usually requires some act of decision, some justification to oneself as to why one does not attend to it.

The peculiarity of nonsymbolic interaction, then, is that on the side of both stimulus and response it is spontaneous, direct, and unwitting, and that it operates between the parties as a rapid and especially facile channel peculiarly congenial to human beings. Because it is expressive on one side, it is likely to be impressive on the other. The disclosure of affective states on the one side seems to arouse and influence feelings on the other side.

It is my belief that it is just this nonsymbolic phase of interaction which has been ignored in the usual theoretical discussions of how attitudes are formed inside of a social milieu. The treatment, as suggested above, in so far as it has risen above the mere statement that there are action and reaction, has tended to treat this formation on the symbolic level in terms of the defining activities of others, or the conveying of a meaning to the individual, which gives direction to his act. And most sophisticated attempts to change or transform attitudes have followed this theoretical lead by placing reliance on a symbolic content which conceivably might yield the individual a new picture of the object in question. Yet it is my feeling that both this theoretical interpretation and the practical efforts based on it seriously ignore the affective aspect of attitudes. The feeling element is a basic part of the attitude and has to be changed in order to have guarantees of a genuine transformation.

I think this change is likely to be made effectively on the nonsymbolic level and not by merely seeking to convey a new interpretation of the object. We are familiar with the frequent futility of trying to change a person's attitude through some

form of intellectual conversion. One may convince him in argument, yet his feelings remain untouched. He retains, even though in a perturbed form, his previous attitude, with the original orientation to action which it stood for. However, the disclosure of feeling through some form of expressive behavior readily touches affective states—awakening, setting, disturbing, or modifying them.

These remarks concerning nonsymbolic interaction are tantamount to declaring that in group life there is a collective interplay of feeling which constitutes a milieu for the affective life of each one of us, and so for the development of our social attitudes. It is inside of such a texture of expressive behavior that our social feelings are nurtured—its absence leads to their impoverishment or decay. Our attitudes, or their affective side, are sustained through the reinforcement we receive from the disclosures of feeling in the expressive conduct of others.

To refer to the expressive behavior of others as forming a collective texture is not to speak in idle metaphor. I should like to point out that expressive behavior is regularized by social codes much as is language or conduct. There seems to be as much justification and validity to speak of an affective structure or ritual in society as of a language structure or pattern of meanings. Almost every stabilized social situation in the life of a group imposes some scheme of affective conduct on individuals, whose conformity to it is expected. At a funeral, in a church, in the convivial group, in the polite assemblage, in the doctor's office, in the theater, at the dinner table, to mention a few instances, narrow limits are set for the play of expressive conduct and affective norms are imposed. In large measure, living with others places a premium on skill in observing the affective demands of social relations; similarly, the socialization of the child and his incorporation into the group involves an education into the niceties of expressive conduct. These affective

rules, demands, and expectations form a code, etiquette, or ritual which, as suggested above, is just as much a complex, interdependent structure as is the language of the group or its tradition.

The view which I am suggesting in this discussion is that social life in human groups can be viewed in one of its aspects as a network of affective relations, operating in the form of expressive stimulation and impressive response. It is this nonsymbolic interaction which seems to form the setting for the formation of the feelings which are intrinsic to and basic to social attitudes. My foregoing remarks are chiefly as a series of conjectures, but they will suffice, I think, to call attention to a primary phase of social attitudes which seems to be unduly ignored in current theoretical discussions

FORMAL EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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The education of the child in primitive or modern society consists, briefly, in implanting the social traditions of the group in him. This must be done with sufficient success if the individual so trained is to participate in his society with a minimum of friction and maintain in himself the sentiments suitable to the part of the social structure in which he moves. Any society which fails to accomplish this minimum of socialization with any new generation faces possible extinction and at least fundamental changes in its institutions and systems of value. No society, the less populous ones particularly, can afford to allow too great variation in the adjustment of its immature members to the adult world if it is to maintain itself. However, variation in the education of modern children is a fundamental necessity if our modern society is to continue its present character, but such variation is an expression of the social segmentation found in the adult social world.

Social stratification, that is, properly speaking, a social configuration wherein certain individuals are subordinate and others superordinate, is characteristic of at least the older communities of the eastern United States. For the last several years my colleagues and I have been studying several older communities, one of which, located in Massachusetts, has some fifteen thousand inhabitants, and another, in southern Mississippi, is a town of somewhat smaller population. We have attempted to examine the whole social life of the two communities. We have been concerned among other things with attempting to find out how these communities adjust their growing children to the social strata of the two towns.

The northern community possesses six classes, each with sufficiently differentiated behavior to separate it from the others. There is a fiction in the community that it is possible to move up the social ladder from the bottom to the top in the lifetime of an individual. Actually, no one does or can, and only a minority from any one class moves into the one above. It is impossible for a member of the group just below the top one to rise to it, and ordinarily speaking, such a move would be a process of three generations in the life of a family. In the five classes below the highest, movement is possible from the bottom to the top, as is the reverse.

In the southern community a quite different situation prevails. Here the social strata are so arranged that there is a two-caste system, and within each caste is found a class system. By these castes I mean what we ordinarily refer to as the Negro and white racial groups of the South. The ordinary rules of caste are maintained, such as prohibition of intermarriage with strong penalties for those who break this taboo; the vertical structure of the two groups is maintained by not allowing a member of the lower caste or his children to come up into the upper white group and by attempting to prevent a white from dropping into the Negro group. In each caste there are superior and inferior classes. The difference between the northern and southern cultures, structurally speaking, is marked, and the seemingly fundamental similarities of the areas generally assumed do not exist.

To maintain these two systems, the children of the two areas must be properly conditioned to the adult mores of the two societies. This conditioning consists of formal and informal education. I propose to examine in summary form the educative mechanisms of the two areas.

The separation of the white caste from the Negro in the school systems of the southern community clearly symbolizes

the extreme social distance maintained between the two groups and formally places in the child's mind the absolute divergence of the two groups. The unequal distribution of money for the education of the children of the two groups, the inequality of teachers' salaries, school buildings, and equipment contribute their share to the continuation of the subordination of one group to the other. The percentage of Negroes who go beyond the third and fourth grades is far below that of the whites. Negro education, particularly in the rural districts surrounding the urban areas studied, is primarily an education for individuals who are to participate within the limitations of the subordinate group. Their equipment provides them with approximately the minimum of reading, writing, and arithmetic that will allow them to perform their duties as tenants, laborers, or servants. The small percentage of Negroes who have gone beyond this and educated themselves to become professional men are part of a larger social process which seems to be changing the caste system's structure and creating a group of Negroes who in *class* behavior within their *caste* are superior to the whites in certain classes within the dominant caste. Much of the pressure on the school systems of the South by Negroes at the present time is designed to continue this process. Much of the manoeuvring of the dominant caste, particularly within the political structure, to appropriate for the white child funds designed for the Negro child are to be understood as a conscious or unconscious drive to maintain the present-day vertical social structure. "A Negro needs enough learning to read, write, and figure a little, so that they cannot cheat him too much, but there is not anything worse in this world than an overeducated Negro." This often heard statement about sums up the attitude of the white when he attempts to prevent equality of education for the two groups.

The prevailing belief in the smaller communities studied

that the Negro learns very well for the first few years of his life and then loses his ability to learn is another attitude held not only by many of the whites but by large numbers of the Negroes and decidedly limits the advance of the Negro into higher grades and helps maintain his lower status. It is believed this inability is psychobiological; "it is in the blood" rather than social.

Another factor in maintaining the caste structure is the limitation of jobs for the Negro. Rarely does the Negro enter the trades or white-collar occupations. This situation in the economic world has very decided effects on the school system. There is a general feeling among the Negroes of the communities studied that it is foolish to rear a child to be well educated, since it makes him unfit for the life around him. Actually, a superior education does tend toward maladjustment, and many Negroes who have succeeded in progressing beyond the earlier grades tend to migrate to the larger towns or to the North. This is an expression of their unbalanced position within the community. Such movements out of the smaller towns and rural areas help maintain the caste equilibrium and make it possible for the school system to adjust completely to the continuance of the southern vertical structure.

The lower class rural whites, inferior in *class* to the upper-class Negroes and more or less equivalent to the general class of Negroes, but superior in *caste* to the entire Negro group, receive an education which on the whole tends to hold the members of that group in their lowly position. Few go beyond the earlier grades of school. The economic life with its round of duties on the tenant farms tends to keep the children out of school at critical periods and forces them to remain longer in the lower grades than their higher class competitors. When they reach a sufficient maturity to compete in the labor market, they leave school. The quality of instruction at the schools is

almost as poor as in those of the Negroes. There is, however, a chance for the lower class whites to rise, as some members have, because they lack the badge of color that holds a member of the Negro caste to his group. But in the South vertical mobility provided by education seems to be less prevalent than that found in the New England communities.

In the northern area studied by us, most of the children go to public schools approximately equal in advantages to the maturing child who is to use his educational equipment in the attempt to advance his social status in the class structure or to maintain his present position. The private preparatory school is used by the upper class to indoctrinate the child with certain attitudes and values, certain manners, and certain daily rites and routines that will prepare him for a society which believes in its superiority to the other groups in the community and is so accepted by these groups. Collegiate education of the private-school boys and girls is not so much an acquisition of knowledge to be used as a tool for advancement as it is an equipment of the maturing child with the standards and behavior of the lady or the gentleman. Such an individual tends to have intellectual interests, usually highly specialized, which become his avocation, or he may develop a sufficient interest to become a professional practitioner. However, such an interest tends to be placed in a context of organizing his leisure time and of using his career not so much for income as for prestige.

Other groups in the New England areas which maintain a social distance are the ethnics. They provide schools for the continuance of the traditions of the mother country and for religious instruction. In time the "traditional" element of the education tends to drop out and the school becomes what is popularly thought of as a "parochial" school. Such a school competes directly with the public schools and inculcates a variant type of behavior which fits its students for a mature behavior different

from the norms of the Yankee community and frequently in conflicts with the general values. The parochial school prevents complete orientation and by its physical separation maintains other social distances that allow ethnic groups to persist and successfully to resist assimilation. In the present generation an adolescent of the parochial school communicates much less with the Yankee adolescent and much more with his own kind than did his fathers and mothers when they were in school in these communities. Formerly there was much more intermarriage between parochial and Yankee groups than there is now, and, according to our informants, many more children of such marriages were assimilated into the traditional and secular behavior of New England. The parochial and ethnic schools tend to separate the ethnic child from such contacts with the children of the general Yankee community as would allow the development of erotic interests with sets of sentiments and values similar to the old Yankee ones which might finally develop into intermarriages of the foreign and native young people.

The public school in New England is performing at least three functions: (1) it equips a child with the ordinary tools of learning; (2) it gives him the training necessary for social mobility; and (3) it helps orientate divergent cultural groups to the normal behavior and traditional structure of Yankee society.

The control and administration of the educational systems tends to be in the hands of the upper middle class. The teachers, too, tend to be drawn from this group. This class is highly mobile, and more than any other in the community stresses the virtues of "getting up in the world." Accent is consequently placed upon providing teaching that will equip the child to move upward. The desire for the rewards of higher status is put into the child's mind and contributes immeasurably toward forcing him to learn his lessons properly and assimilate his formal education. Education for the middle- and lower-class

child in New England is not so much a learning of a formal intellectual discipline as the acquisition of a tool the child later uses to rise and to maintain his place in the class organization. He must be educated to be accepted by his class or to rise to a higher place. The larger part of the parents' pressure "to do his schoolwork" is an effort to make the child fit into the class society and by so doing to accept the values of the socially mobile group.

One of the usual methods by which the children of members of the lower groups raise themselves is to exercise various semi-artistic talents. So-called schools of dancing, music, and elocution are attended by such children where they learn how to tap dance, play a saxophone, or recite pieces. Such trained talents are utilized by the various associations, clubs, and lodges for their entertainment, and the growing youth comes to their notice and frequently to membership. He thus climbs out of his lower status to a higher group and stabilizes his rise by becoming a member of an association in the higher group. This method of rising is, of course, not confined to the lower groups. The middle and lower upper classes also use their occasional talents as equipment for raising their class participation. The wealthy son or daughter of a "recently arrived" textile manufacturer, after completing his or her training at one of the older colleges with its higher "social" prestige, goes to an art school in Paris, or trains his or her voice "on the Continent," or goes to New York to learn to write. If such attempts succeed in launching a generally recognized artistic career, his status is raised and his sphere of behavior enlarged in the field of upper-class activity. If he fails, he frequently becomes emotionally unstable and in some cases develops psychoneurotic behavior.

The several school systems of the southern and New England areas where we have done our research tend to maintain the school and class structures. Social distance is crudely ex-

pressed in the separation of the children of the several groups by maintaining different educational standards and by teaching different traditions. The fundamental difference between the formal school systems of the two areas is that in the Yankee schools a parochial-school child can transfer to a public school or a public-school child to a parochial school, whereas in the South a Negro or white child could not pass from his or her school to the institution of the opposite caste. In other words, the caste system begins at the low-age level of the grammar school, and so it must if the present caste system is to survive.

I have said nothing here about the function of education as a modifier of present culture and of the behavior of the individuals in it. Schools with such purposes do not exist in the communities I have examined as they do in some of the larger cities of the United States. If a society is to maintain a sufficient equilibrium to allow its members to live with a minimum of conflict, its schools must express the norms of the structures that make up its social parts. Such are the schools of the smaller towns of the rural areas of the deep South and of New England.

GROWING UP AT SCHOOL

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The focus of attention in this article is not the physical maturation of the school population but the development of personality in the school group. Physical factors affect the latter process in many ways, but most significant to the growing boy or girl are the attitudes which others take toward physical factors and his response to them—that is the way in which they become socially defined. The squint-eyed, bandy-legged, freckled, snub-nosed, redheaded, or corpulent are extraordinarily sensitive to the gibes of their schoolmates. Quite often some such highly visible feature singles out the child for more attention and embarrassment than dull-wittedness, for the latter may be partially concealed.

Then, too, attention may be directed to other matters over which children have little or no control; the style of clothes they wear, the occupations of their fathers, the reputations of their families, the neighborhoods or streets in which they live, the ethnic groups to which they belong, the religion and political allegiance of their larger family groups. Any or all of these elements may enter the given social situation and affect the child's sense of well-being in the treatment of his schoolmates. Nor will the possession of a high degree of native intelligence necessarily obtain for him the position among his mates that seems most desirable to him. While the child endowed with great intelligence can respond to a much wider range of stimuli than the ordinary child, this intelligence may be applied in directions which isolate him from others and thus retard his development as a person who can play a normal role in group life. Every child has to struggle to achieve those objectives toward

which not only circumstances incline him but his mates and elders approve. The more unobtrusively these objectives can be achieved the less disruptive will be the attention of others. High visibility may be appropriate to meteors—whose lives are momentary—but not to school children. It is necessary to his personal development that the child learn to play a significant role in the eyes of his fellows. But when factors in his social situation arouse undue attention they are liable to contribute abnormal features to the person's conception of himself and lead to aberrant compensatory behavior.

School groups should be so constituted that the growing-up process goes on with a minimum of direction on the part of the teacher. While the process is very painful at times, children may be expected to find their appropriate places in the group without much interference on the part of the teacher. But like a wise parent—and the teacher is in a sense a substitute parent during school hours—he learns to recognize critical situations where opportunities for achievement demand some slight changes in the rules of the game in order that they may bear a little less heavily on some of his pupils in the schoolroom and on the playing field. This means that the teacher must succeed in becoming in a greater measure than is ordinarily achieved an integral part of the primary group which children inevitably form in every fairly stable situation. Only by so doing can the teacher sense the subtle factors of personality adjustment involved in the growing-up process. Since he is placed in a social position of specialized leadership he is expected to know the nature of those personality-making social situations in which children are discovering themselves through interaction with others. This involves not only knowing the intricacies of the immediate primary group situation in which he is the senior member but also the typical neighborhood and class heritages of those sections of the community from which the members of

the school group come. These local heritages set certain cultural limits within which the process of self-discovery on the part of his pupils must take place. In so far as he ignores or affronts their norms of behavior—matters that have been surrounded by impressive social sanctions—he fails to utilize accessible social resources upon which the effectiveness of his leadership in a large measure depends. Many of the local practices and beliefs in the social equipment of his pupils require redefinition in terms of the wider heritage which the school transmits. In this redefinition, which is an essential part of the growing-up process, the teacher plays a leading role. Thus teaching with particular emphasis on this process places a heavy burden on the teacher. To meet this situation he should be assigned a lighter class load than usually obtains and his professional prerequisites should include a knowledge of human situations and skill in dealing with them. The fact that so many teachers pay so little attention to the growing-up process, except when it disturbs classroom routine, challenges a restatement of educational policy which will focus attention on objectives which matter most—those phases of personality development which come to light in school situations. In conjunction with the home and the neighborhood, the custodians of school funds may be expected to provide in a broad way a social environment in which those growing up may exercise a wholesome measure of self-direction. They may also be expected to provide teachers who know when and how to supplement the efforts of all growing persons but especially of those who experience marked difficulties in finding their social way.

The more formal aspect of the social heritage which the school transmits to those growing up is to be found in the texts and other books which comprise the curriculum. The choice of these books and the purposes which they are designed to serve require some comment, for the elements of the social heritage

selected for transmission are an integral part of the total situation in which young persons grow up. In broad fashion the communicable content of the school curriculum should give expression to the values already articulate in the community as a whole in which the school is located. Nor are these values to be conceived as static, for they reveal certain trends of change which signify the lines of direction in which the local interpretations of the wider human heritage may be redefined in the course of their transmission to the generation growing up.

This whole process has never been entirely free from the misdirected earnestness of doctrinaires whose intentions are good in the main. Some of these are representatives of religious groups who want particular attention paid to their special tenets. Indoctrination of school children in the interests of ultranationalists and internationalists, political and industrial groups, and those who have a vested interest in some phase of curricular content whether ancient or modern is often sought. Even the teacher may utilize his position to bring the minds of his pupils under the sway of some oracular predilection. The main trend in public-school education—and for that matter in all education—has been one of increasing secularization. This has restricted the activities of doctrinaires but it has not resulted in the elimination of nonsecular values from the social heritage: secularization has meant the transmission of a far wider selection of values secular and sacred to those growing up in our present era.

In itself this wider selection of the accessible experiences of preceding generations has a significant bearing on the growing-up process for it provides vicariously a range of experience that helps the growing person to find his place and poise in relation to others. However, one particular difficulty appears in this connection. The school is conceived as a means of preparing the growing person for a vocation and other special responsibilities

that will fall to him as he approaches maturity. Indeed, when the school plays an effective role in the maturation of persons, it does prepare them for their adult responsibilities. But there has been in the recent past a marked tendency to make the transmission of the wider social heritage subsidiary to the special vocational preparation desired by some parents and many "vocalionalizers." This tendency is particularly prevalent during the high-school period and the earlier years in college but it may also leave its mark on those in the public school. Some parents decide very early what vocations they wish their children to enter and attempt to concentrate the latter's attention on those subjects which seem most appropriate to the ambitions of the former. Some of us have known parents who have compensated for some felt defect in a language or other subject by overemphasizing its value in the educational plans for their children. Furthermore, some teachers recognize special aptitudes and overstimulate their early development to the detriment of broader educational requirements.

The imposition of vocational choices on others is not in keeping with an educational policy designed to help young persons grow up. In their communities and through their schoolbooks youths become acquainted with the representatives of many vocations and professions. They also become familiar with typical achievements in representative vocations. Such procedure equips the growing person with a basic education out of which vocational choices are allowed to emerge as a natural phase of the growing-up process itself. Parents and vocational advisers may act as consultants when the problem of vocational selection emerges in the youth's experience and their advice should be in keeping with his known aptitudes and inclinations. Along broad lines parents and their allies the teachers must consider the futures of growing persons but in the main they fulfil their functions when they place those under their tutelage

in position to make their choices from the widest feasible variety of alternatives.

By implication the previous paragraph has dealt with an overemphasis in the curriculum with respect to the acquisition of knowledge which has seemed particularly pertinent to the so-called learned professions. This tendency has made for the presentation of abstract ideas in forms unsuitable to the immature, and it has also caused other essential phases of personal development to be sacrificed in the interest of knowledge acquisition. This intellectualistic bias has been a thorn in the sides of those who have sought to humanize educational procedure.

However, the recent interest in child development made manifest in research foundations and programs, college courses, governmental departments, and a wide variety of other social agencies makes it reasonably certain that forces are being set in motion which will cause educational administrators to place more emphasis on the growing-up process in the educational system. For to grow up is to learn to play a role in social situations satisfactory to one's self and acceptable to others. The curriculum may facilitate the growing-up process by giving the human phase of the social heritage the place in nurture which it occupied in nature.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TALENT AND GENIUS

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A major difficulty in the study of environmental causes of genius has been the formulation of an adequate conception of environment. In order to arrive at such a definition it is necessary to determine what factors in the experiences and surroundings of persons studied might have produced their abilities. The present study is an attempt to solve this problem through intensive and intimate life histories gathered through interviews and written documents of talented persons. The subjects are young adults who are recognized by their acquaintances as outstanding in some gifts, such as musical ability, skill in drawing, mathematical ability, acting ability, and general high intelligence. It is found that the most significant factors are relatively obscure and subtle, operating in the more private mental processes of the person, not easily observed without the use of intimate and searching interviews, and not always closely correlated with the more obvious external environmental features usually considered as the principal factors in many statistical studies of intelligence.

The following typical case shows the nature of these concealed inner processes. The subject, a young male college graduate, began apparently quite suddenly to play the piano although he had had no lessons except for a short time during childhood. Not long after this he bought a violin and, also without lessons, learned to play it. To his acquaintances this performance appeared to be an abrupt emergence of an innate talent. In the following condensation of portions of the case

record, however, it is seen that the ability developed slowly and had a long history.

K. I., when a small child, had the opportunity to hear in his home piano music played by his mother, and phonograph music. He was also exposed to music in his schools, and although he showed no unusual interest or gift for music, took some part in singing fetes and glee-club activities. At an early age he had a few piano lessons from his mother and a very few from a music teacher. These were abandoned at the suggestion of the teacher, as K. I. did not practise at all and it was difficult to persuade him to come indoors from play to have his lesson.

At this age, K. I. and his three brothers had similar attitudes toward music. They were moderately fond of hearing good piano and recorded music and they would sing and hum tunes while at play, but they did not care to do the work required to perform on an instrument. An important obstacle was competition for their time and interest by outdoor play.

When K. I. was about twelve years old, his older brother Tom began going to high school, and playing with a new group of friends he found in that school. These boys, two to three years older than K. I., scorned to play with one so young and especially one who attended the private elementary school they called "sissy school." Tom took over this attitude, with the result that K. I. began to withdraw from that group and also from Tom. From this time on he spent more time indoors, reading, playing indoor games, drawing pictures, and engaging in other quiet activity, and less time in outdoor athletics. This reaction intensified his reputation as a "sissy" so that the process of withdrawal became a sort of vicious circle.

From early childhood, K. I. had a nervous habit of biting his nails. His parents and teachers embarrassed him by calling attention to it. During his efforts to control it, another habit, perhaps a substitute, was developed. This consisted in faintly clicking his teeth together. As these teeth were crooked, there were several possible points of contacts, and so they were clicked in different places. He began to think of these different contact points as notes in a scale. At first there were only four, and these represented the bugle notes. Bugle calls were learned in the Boy Scouts and given an emotional significance by their frequent use in wartime. K. I. would then play bugle calls silently on his teeth, just as the tunes would run through his head. The low notes were on the left, as on the piano keyboard. This practice was carried on in school, when

reading, and when at play. It was hardly noticeable to others as there was very little sound and only slight movement. Later it was refined so that there was no sound at all. After a considerable amount of bugle-call practise on the teeth, other possible points of contact were discovered, one by one, until a chromatic scale of over an octave was achieved. Simple tunes were learned, then in some songs chords of two notes were "played," using principles of harmony learned from playing a mouth organ.

From time to time both brothers would try to pick out simple tunes on the piano keys, and would succeed in getting them right only after considerable stumbling, if at all. But K. I., with his many hours a day of practise on his teeth, began to be more sure of his notes and could work out easy melodies on the piano with fewer trials than formerly. Eventually this brought about the ability to play melodies by ear, often at first trial.

This single-note piano playing continued for several years, with no further improvements except in accuracy. But in time, perhaps following principles learned in glee-club music, he began to play tunes with a simple accompanying harmony consisting of a third above each note. Later the additional device of using a sixth below each note of the melody was added, then the two were used in the same tune, according to appropriateness.

When K. I. was about fifteen years old, he saw a neighbor boy bluff his way through a two-hand rendition of a popular song by playing the melody by ear with an accompanying third on the right hand, and by striking keys at random in the bass, with a two-four time. Since this promised to be an interesting stunt to learn, K. I. tried it and discovered not only that he could do it, but that he could also hit keys in the bass with some accuracy, so that he realized that if he knew what keys to strike his fingers would be able to hit them. He was also encouraged by the mother of one of his friends, who told him that with just a little instruction he could play easy songs. So he set out to learn a song, choosing a very simple arrangement of a popular tune. He remembered only that the lines in the treble clef represented the notes E, G, B, D, F, and that the spaces were F, A, C, E, but by counting laboriously he learned, note by note, first the right-hand part, then the accompaniment, and finally put them together and practised until he could play so smoothly that others thought him a real pianist.

This labor was motivated by the desire to impress his friends, as a stunt, rather than by any intention to continue to learn to play the piano. But the first piece he learned soon became so tiresome that he did not enjoy playing it, so decided to learn another one. This time the process was a little easier, for at least he knew he would succeed. Before long he learned five or six pieces in this manner. He then began to try to learn more difficult pieces from the player piano, by running the mechanism at an extremely slow rate and putting his fingers over the keys as they went down. In this manner he learned bits of more difficult piano works, such as the Liszt *Second Hungarian Rhapsody*, and *Country Gardens*, by Percy Grainger. From these he learned more principles of harmony, so that now he was able to play by ear two-hand parts of any simple tune that he knew well enough to hum correctly.

One of his college friends was learning to play the piano by similar self-instruction, so K. I. exchanged ideas and experiences with him. They would report to one another when either discovered a new chord or a new trick, and they would discuss their uses. At this time the knowledge came rapidly and the interest became quite strong, not only in playing the piano, but in listening to music. He began to buy phonograph recordings of operatic melodies and light classical music. These had a strong appeal and he longed to be able to play some instruments as well and as expressively as the music in these records. He tried to play some of these melodies on the piano, and found that in some cases he was able to play them correctly at first trial, with proper harmony in the left-hand part. Some pieces, however, were too difficult to work out. Unfamiliar harmonies were never discovered by ear, but when he learned them from printed music, or from friends, he could then recognize them in the recorded music. In this manner his knowledge of music increased, but it was knowledge gathered informally and practised silently and mentally more than overtly. To this day, all music played by ear is at first seen on piano keys or violin strings, and set against a background of four bugle notes.

When he was about fifteen years old, a neighbor gave a ukelele to his younger brother. K. I. attempted to learn to play it, but as the chords were interesting only if accompanying a song, and as he did not care to sing, he soon lost interest. But he did attempt to pick out tunes, in mandolin fashion, and soon gained the ability to play simple tunes by ear. This was better than strumming chords, but the instrument was

limited by its short range and muffled sound, and it was not possible to achieve much emotional expression with it.

About this time, however, K. I. heard a mandolin performer at a theater play the *Meditation* from *Thaïs*. The artist was so skilled that his instrument seemed almost as expressive as a violin. Immediately K. I. began to wish for one, and before long his parents purchased a good banjo mandolin. He was able to play tunes by ear at once, because of the experience with the ukelele. But although he was proud of the mandolin, he eventually began to wish for a more expressive type of instrument—one which could draw out a fine, delicate, floating tone, of the quality of the music in the operatic recordings. He realized that a violin might satisfy this requirement and began to wish for one. This wish grew for several years, while he was learning more music and increasing his skill on the piano.

The year after he finished college, he bought a cheap violin and began to learn to play it. He took no lessons, but could find the approximate finger positions from his experience with the mandolin. Without frets to guide the fingers, however, accuracy in pitch was lacking. Clumsy bowing produced unpleasant sounds. The result was nearly to discourage him, for he contrasted these sounds with the music of the Kreisler records. But after temporary lapses he continued to play and found that he improved. He kept to slow, easy tunes, such as Handel's *Largo*, and tried to concentrate on good tone rather than brilliant finger work. Because he was sensitive and embarrassed when the tone was bad or off pitch, he made strong efforts to improve in this respect, and eventually became able to play a few pieces so as to make appealing and satisfying music. Often he would play with a violin record and learn from it, or from violin or orchestra music on the radio. In this fashion new techniques were added continuously.

In the above account it is easily seen that although there was much less formal training and overt practice than the average musician must have, there was in reality probably enough effective experience and rehearsal to make it unnecessary to assume possession of quicker learning ability or any other innate gifts. Though different in detail, all cases of music talent studied showed similar experiences sufficient to explain the performance without reference to any innate advantages.

The phenomenal mental calculators of arithmetic problems appear to have similar histories. Frank D. Mitchell, himself a calculator, studied a number of such persons,¹ and found that in many, and perhaps all of these cases, the persons were somewhat isolated and inactive at early ages, and by some accident took to counting for amusement. Once the interest is aroused in the various symmetries and properties of numbers, calculation becomes a habit which is practised silently and intensively for many hours each day and over periods of years, and can be carried on even when the person may be engaged in some unrelated activity. Calculating ability, then, is no mysterious talent, but the natural result of a definite series of experiences. The appearance of mystery is due to the fact that these experiences are not easily observed, even by close friends and members of the family.

Similar results were found in cases of persons talented in drawing. This skill comes from painstaking observation and mental organization of what is seen, and this may be done unnoticed and without actual overt trial. In some cases a large part of schoolroom daydreaming for a period of years consisted in this sort of mental practise in drawing, supplemented with actual drawing when possible.

An interesting life-history study of a person showing unusual talent in acting indicates that this type of talent is also based on many years of mental work, in this case consisting mostly of imagining ways to show off and to entertain one's friends.

In addition to the above generalizations, the cases revealed certain recurrent and typical circumstances and experiences that appeared to be of importance in the causation of abilities. One favorable circumstance is a strong interest in parents and other

¹ Frank D. Mitchell, "Mathematical Prodiges," *American Journal of Psychology*, XVIII (January 1907), pp 61-143

adults, especially when this interest leads to frequent and stimulating contacts between the generations. Relations with playmates are also important. Exclusion from active, extraverted friends in early years may often drive children to solitary, indoor actions, such as reading, music, and drawing. This sort of withdrawal may make social relations less successful, but it often gives the child more than an average amount of time for the development of special talents. Another significant factor is an advantageous location at the central points of opportunity and stimulating contacts. Those who live at centers of culture, music, art, and invention, and who are able to travel, and those who have wide acquaintanceship with educated persons, wide knowledge of reading matter, and adequate habits of using reference methods are able to learn a great deal more and with much less effort than less fortunately situated persons. Also of importance is the organization of the intellectual surroundings of the person. The child who lives in an organized and rationalized world may learn more easily because of his confidence that the world is mechanical and that answers to his questions can be found.

Finally, the interrelations and organization of these factors with other experiences in the life history are of great significance in determining abilities. Often a very trivial experience will set off a chain of results that affects the entire character of the person. The unique sequence of events, and interrelations of personality, social background, opportunities, relations with members of the family and other groups, while necessarily different for each person, must enter into the explanation of the development of abilities. Adequate studies of the environmental basis of genius and talents must use methods suitable for discovering all the relevant data of this type, in addition to the more obvious external environmental conditions.

STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE AND SEX

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Since modern psychology lays stress on social attitudes, it seems desirable to call attention to the special topic of student attitudes toward marriage and sex. Studies will be cited which throw light on the nature and origin of prevailing attitudes of students toward marriage and sex. The recent interest in the modification of student attitudes toward marriage and sex by formal education will be noted and obstacles to such modification will be pointed out.

Students may contribute in two ways to scientific knowledge concerning their attitudes toward marriage and sex (1) They may offer themselves as subjects for experiment and questioning (2) They may coöperate in obtaining useful data from other students or from parents which may aid in interpreting their own reactions. In each case the data may consist of (a) opinions or verbal expressions of attitude, (b) reported facts in regard to activities and background, and finally (c) integrated descriptions generally referred to as case-history material. Certain examples may be offered of investigations of students taken directly as subjects

There are scattered studies concerned with students' opinions concerning parenthood. Rice found that while a substantial majority of both male and female students desired children even those wanting them desired only about 2.5 per family. They did not desire the number of children necessary to maintain their groups in the general population.¹

¹ Stuart Rice, "Undergraduate Attitudes Toward Marriage and Children," *Mental Hygiene*, XIII, 4 (October 1929), pp 788-793

A modest study of 30 male University of Pennsylvania students made under the writer's direction revealed that all but one of the men desired children. On the average they desired 2.6 children, with a decided preference for boys. The chief cause for limiting the size of their families was given as financial. The most common reasons for having children centered around social duty and reproduction as the purpose of life. At the same institution it was found that 72 out of 73 male students replying to a questionnaire favored limitation of their families, on the average, to 2.8. At the University of Minnesota a study of 18 women and 19 men students revealed a similar desire of women for 2.8 children and of men for 2.3 children.

Various studies have been made bearing on attitudes toward selection of the marriage partner. For the Pennsylvania group it was found that only about half of the students objected to intermarriage between Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile. Objection was made to a wife working after marriage by 60 per cent. There were 71 per cent who upheld a single standard of morality prior to marriage. The above mentioned male Minnesota students were almost unanimous in thinking monogamous marriage satisfactory and in condemning the double standard for men. In contrast to the Pennsylvania men they regarded about two thousand dollars rather than about three thousand dollars as the income necessary for marriage.

Another modest study bearing on attitudes toward mate selection was based on 93 returns from 100 questionnaires sent to male students at the University of Rochester and the University of Pennsylvania. In terms of most frequent choices the ideal wife is 5 feet 5 inches, weighs about 120 pounds, is blonde (29 per cent), has blue eyes (33 per cent), does not wear glasses (81 per cent), has a good figure (90 per cent), has "it" (68 per cent), is a college graduate (53 per cent), is courteous

(90 per cent), and able to meet people (99 per cent). Her analytical powers do not have to be so well developed (45 per cent) but she must be truthful at all times (99 per cent) and she must not have too great power to dominate people (6.5 per cent). She must possess the quality of helpfulness (90 per cent). Chastity (54 per cent) is not strikingly valued. Some slight resemblance was noted between the characteristics of the ideal wives as fancied by these students and the corresponding traits of their mothers.

A more significant study of the resemblance between desired traits of ideal wives and remembered traits of mothers was made in collaboration with a member of the sociology department at the University of Minnesota.² Working with returns from 100 male students, both chance and social acceptability of traits were controlled by comparing coincident checkings for actual mother and "ideal" mate pairs with a random pairing of mothers and "ideal" mates. The percentage coincidence in the former case exceeded the percentage coincidence in the latter case on the average by 4.5 per cent.³

A few studies have been made in regard to attitudes on the part of students toward intimacy with various members of their families. Chapin, for example, has devised a scale for measuring kinship intimacy in terms of opinions or verbal reactions. He finds from a study of University of Minnesota students that intimacy seems to be notably greater for pairs of female relatives than for pairs of male relatives.⁴ The writer also questioned several hundred University of Minnesota students and

² Dennis McGenty, "A Study of the Oedipus Complex," unpublished manuscript, 1935.

³ See also C. Kirkpatrick, "A Statistical Investigation of the Psycho-analytic Theory of Mate Selection," to be published in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*

⁴ Stuart F. Chapin, "Degrees of Kinship Intimacy," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX, 2 (November-December 1934), pp. 117-125

found substantial evidence that students on the average feel greater intimacy toward their mothers than their fathers. Of 241 males 9 per cent reported greater intimacy with the father, while 47.3 per cent reported greater intimacy with the mother. The corresponding percentages for 312 females were 9.3 and 43.0 per cent. It would seem that there are significant affectional patterns in familial groups which are worthy of further study.

Investigation of student attitudes toward the issues of feminism may prove to have implications for sociological theory. The writer has prepared a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism with the aid of which he has obtained interesting responses from several hundred college students.⁵ It was found that there is a difference of about 9.3 points in the average scores of men and women students on this scale. This difference of means is many times the probable error and is about a fifth of the usual range of scores obtained from college groups. The sex difference in attitude is especially pronounced in regard to economic issues. In the case of female students there is some slight association between high score and unsatisfactory sex adjustment. It seems also to be true that the inconsistency ratios in responding to the various issues are notably higher for male students.⁶ Student attitudes reflect a picture of cultural confusion and sex antagonism.

We may now turn to activities and background as another index of attitude. Studies based on reports of such activities as made to nonstudent investigators may be cited. Peck and Wells

⁵ C. Kirkpatrick, "The Content of a Scale for Measuring Attitudes toward Feminism," to be published in *Sociology and Social Research*. Also "Construction of a Belief-Pattern Scale for Measuring Attitudes toward Feminism," to appear in the *Journal of Social Psychology*.

⁶ C. Kirkpatrick, "Inconsistency in Attitudinal Behavior with Special Reference to Attitudes Toward Feminism" To appear in *The Journal of Applied Psychology*

made a highly significant study of the sex practices of college graduates. Their finding that 35 per cent of the men reported sex intercourse prior to marriage is interesting in view of the loose generalizations that have been made concerning the sex mores of the younger generation.⁷

Pressey has investigated student reports of their family backgrounds in relation to personality maladjustment, and has drawn some interesting conclusions as to the common characteristics of the "bad" home.⁸ Martin has shown the lack of association between parental punishment and social adjustment of students.⁹ Numerous similar studies might be mentioned.

The third type of data which is commonly obtained from students by nonstudent investigators consists of case studies. Almost every teacher of psychology and sociology has an accumulation of such material in his files. Certain of the studies mentioned above, while primarily statistical, have included case material. Often the deepest insight into the world of the student, complicated as it is by problems of sex and family life, comes from such self-revealing documents. It must be concluded that the attitudes and behavior of students as directly revealed by the students themselves are data of sociology and throw light on broader social problems concerned with marriage and sex.

⁷ M. W. Peck and F. L. Wells, "Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men," *Mental Hygiene*, VII, 4 (October 1923), pp. 697-714. Harvey has made valuable suggestions as to means by which such investigations of sexual behavior may be made more reliable. See O. L. Harvey, "The Questionnaire as Used in Recent Studies of Human Sexual Behavior," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVI, 4 (January-March 1932), pp. 379-389. See also O. L. Harvey, "The Scientific Study of Human Sexual Behavior," *Journal of Social Psychology*, III, 2 (May 1932), pp. 161-188.

⁸ Luella Cole Pressey, "Some Serious Family Maladjustments among College Students," *Social Forces*, X, 2 (December 1931), pp. 236-242.

⁹ M. F. Martin, "The Training and Ideals of Two Adolescent Groups," *Mental Hygiene*, XVI, 2 (April 1932), pp. 277-280.

A distinction has been drawn between attitude data obtained directly from students and the interpretive data obtained with the aid of students, which bears on student attitudes toward marriage and sex. The writer was able to enlist the coöperation of students in obtaining from their parents a checking of opinions on the previously mentioned scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism. While the parents seemed to be more conservative in their opinions in regard to the status of women, the score differences can be as well explained by differences in education as by the trend of the times. Students of sex antagonism may find food for thought, however, in the fact that the sex differences in average score were greater for the students than for the parental generation. The abyss of disagreement between the two sexes in regard to the status of women seems to be widening rather than disappearing. Interesting correlations were also obtained which were substantially higher when mothers' score was correlated with student score than when fathers' score was correlated with score of offspring. There is a bit of support here for the proposition that "the hand which rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world."¹⁰

Often where activity or practice is taken as the index of attitude and where inhibitions on frankness are likely to be present, student investigators may obtain through personal acquaintance data which otherwise might not be available. One of the writer's students, for example, undertook to interview a random sample of students in regard to sex practices. Of the 34 male students interviewed in the Eastern college, 24 had experienced premarital sexual intercourse. Furthermore, 28 of the college students reported associating with girls purely for sexual reasons. Quite different and perhaps less honest statements might have been given to a nonstudent investigator.

¹⁰ C Kirkpatrick, "A Comparison of Generations in Regard to Attitudes toward Feminism" To be published in the *Journal of Genetic Psychology*.

Valuable case-history material in regard to marriage and sex is obtainable by students from students. They are often able to obtain case histories of secret campus marriages and of clandestine student love affairs that would not always be available directly to an investigator in a different age and occupational group. Elsewhere certain advantages in student research projects have been pointed out which include the possibility that a participant observer who is himself a member of a particular group may obtain a more honest and realistic picture of certain attitudes than would be possible by an outsider.¹¹

The modification of student attitudes toward marriage and sex is an interesting topic worthy of much discussion. There have been numerous studies concerned with the modification of social attitudes but with rather uncertain results. The results are particularly ambiguous in regard to the effect of formal classroom instruction upon social attitudes.¹² Relatively few studies have been made specifically concerned with modification of attitudes toward sex and marriage. At the University of Minnesota, however, a tentative classroom experiment was conducted which seemed to indicate a modification of attitudes toward feminism following discussion of feminist issues with a person of the opposite sex.¹³

Notwithstanding our relatively slight knowledge of the processes by which attitudes may be purposefully modified, a flood of articles have appeared in recent years warmly advocating education in the schools in regard to sex and family

¹¹ C. Kirkpatrick, "Student Projects and the Sociology of Religion," *Social Forces*, XIII, 1 (October 1933), p. 64.

¹² C. Kirkpatrick, "Social Studies in Relation to Social Change," *Social Studies*, XXVI, 4-5 (April-May 1935), p. 221.

¹³ C. Kirkpatrick, "An Experimental Study of the Modification of Social Attitudes" To appear in the forthcoming issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*

life.¹⁴ Certainly the present limited facilities for education of this kind bespeaks a lack of perspective in present educational objectives.¹⁵ It is possible that enthusiasts are correct in assuming that educational reforms will have a profound effect upon the family institution of the future. Nevertheless, it is well to discount the claims for any single social reform and to recognize limitations and obstacles in regard to the modification of attitudes of young people toward marriage and sex. Four types of limitations may be noted.

1. There is little scientific knowledge concerning the probabilities and conditions of success in the modification of attitudes toward marriage and sex. The outstanding study of Katherine B. Davis did show a relationship between sex education and likelihood of happiness in marriage.¹⁶ Wells, on the other hand, finds relatively little relation between sex instruction and patterns of sex expression. One gathers the impression that temperament and age-group contacts are more important determinants than sex instruction.¹⁷ More extensive information is needed.

2. The characteristics of educators concerned with the movement under consideration may place certain limitations upon

¹⁴ Harry A. Overstreet, "Training for Successful Marriage," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XVI, 3 (March 1930), pp. 134-139.

Norma K. Green, "Some Things to Know Before Marriage," *Journal of Home Economics*, XXIII, 9 (September 1931), pp. 833-836.

M. F. Nimkoff, "Counseling Students on Pre-Marital Problems, A Function of the Sociologist," *Mental Hygiene*, XIX, 4 (October 1935), pp. 573-585.

Anna E. Richardson, "Suggestions for Courses in Family Relationships," *Journal of Home Economics*, XXIII, 1 (January 1931), pp. 39-41.

¹⁵ Max J. Exner, "The Status of Sex Education in the Colleges," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XVII, 8 (November 1931) pp. 441-458.

¹⁶ Katherine B. Davis, *The Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929).

¹⁷ F. L. Wells, "General Personality and Certain Features of the Sex Life," *Mental Hygiene*, X, 2 (April 1926), pp. 345-354.

success. Grace Adams has argued with some plausibility that many sex educators are vice crusaders in disguise.¹⁸ It does seem to be true that few of the persons interested in sex and marriage education question the existing mores. It is possible that they are quite right in their ethical assumptions but it also seems probable that many of them are blind to the possible consequences of attempting to enforce strict premarital continence. There is reason to think that the faith in the successful sublimation of the sex drive so commonly expressed has a wishful basis. Lund has shown that there is a substantial correlation between belief and desire.¹⁹ Both Davis and Taylor have presented evidence which is not especially favorable to the sublimation theory.²⁰ It would probably be very difficult to obtain an adequate number of teachers having the necessary maturity, wisdom, experience, and poise to present on a large scale the courses on marriage guidance for college and high-school students that have been so warmly advocated. Our ignorance of such matters is still abysmal and danger lurks in the fact that we are often unaware of our own ignorance. Watson and Green have shown that there is a striking lack of correspondence between beliefs in regard to various aspects of the sex life and the facts as revealed by scientific investigation.²¹

3. In the third place there are numerous sociological obstacles to widespread and effective education of students in

¹⁸ Grace Adams, "Sex and Social Service," *American Mercury*, XXXI, 124 (April 1934), pp. 475-484.

¹⁹ F. H. Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XX, 1-12 (April, July 1925), pp. 63-81, 174-196.

²⁰ W. S. Taylor, "A Critique of Sublimation in Males: A Study of Forty Superior Single Men," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XIII, 1 (January 1933), pp. 1-115.

²¹ Goodwin Watson and Geraldine Green, "Scientific Studies and Personal Opinion on Sex Questions," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVII, 2 (July-September 1932), pp. 130-146.

regard to sex and marriage. Sex taboos still exist which tend to confine discussion to the obvious and the irrelevant. The influences of family background have a primacy effect upon the attitudes of students which is not easily counterbalanced by superficial classroom contacts at a later age. There is a difficult problem of educational strategy in regard to the best means of breaking continuity in the vicious cycle of unwholesome attitudes transmitted from parents to their children and to their children's children. Furthermore, there is reason to think that effective attitude modification comes from sources having prestige. Unhappily the teacher does not always command prestige in our modern educational system. Fact and theory in modern sociology emphasize the importance of in-group attitudes and age-group controls upon conduct as compared with formal education emanating from members of an older group.²²

4. Finally, there are psychological obstacles. The most conspicuous of these perhaps is the difficulty of transmitting wisdom as contrasted with mere knowledge. The comprehension of many aspects of marriage experience is totally impossible because of the lack of any apperceptive mass to give meaning to verbal descriptions. A child-birth experience cannot fully be comprehended by a male or by a young woman who has never had a pregnancy. An adolescent in the throes of romantic love is incapable of imagining the cooling of such emotion to quiet affection or perhaps indifference. Subtle states of emotional ambivalence in marriage defy transmission by the verbal categories of social science.

Perhaps the educator who yearns to temper the attitudes of young people by wisdom and insight would do well to turn to his purpose the literary gifts of dramatists, poets, and novelists. Writers such as D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Ruth

²² Hugh Hartshorne and Mark May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

Suchow, Eugene O'Neill, Ellen Glasgow, Sinclair Lewis, and Evelyn Scott speak more clearly than many professional sociologists.

Present student attitudes toward marriage and sex determine in part the nature of the family groups which they will establish. Their attitudes have been modified and doubtless will be modified in the future. We need to know more about the prospects for modifying the attitudes of students toward marriage and sex so as to further their happiness and that of others.

PERSONALITY CHANGES IN PRACTICE TEACHERS

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When a man or woman has taught for a few years, his personality tends to set in one of a number of characteristic patterns. Although this fact is fairly well recognized, the teacher as an occupational type has received very little attention.¹ Since the first year, or the first few weeks or months, are crucial for the adjustment of personality to any new situation, the study of beginners in teaching should prove particularly revealing. Only the study of beginners can reveal the all-important early processes of adjustment which take place when a personality is confronted for the first time by the cultural and social phenomena which are peculiar to the world of the teacher.

The present paper is a brief statement of the more important conclusions derived from a study of practice teachers.² The persons studied were college seniors in the School of Education at Pennsylvania State College, each of them devoted his full time for nine weeks to practice teaching. The study began as a general inquiry into practice teaching, taking the form of talks with practice teachers and supervisors, and the study of diaries

¹ I have essayed an extended discussion of the teacher as an occupational type in my book, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1932). See Part V, "What Teaching Does to Teachers," pp. 375-400.

² The practice-teaching situation is not quite a normal teaching situation. The practice teacher's range of choice is limited, some of the trials and failures of the beginner are, therefore, eliminated. The practice teacher does not assume full and undivided responsibility for his classes. He must teach in the presence of an older teacher. He receives no pay envelope and is not a member of the teacher group. Nevertheless, our findings should apply to all in the practice-teaching group and should apply fairly well to other beginners.

and life-history documents obtained from practice teachers. A set of twenty-two questions was framed, and completed schedules were obtained, through interviews, from twenty-eight practice teachers, in some cases, three or four interviews were staged with the same student at intervals during the practice-teaching period in addition to the final interview at the end of the period.⁸ Two years later, Miss Rose Braunstein, herself a practice teacher, studied an additional group of fifteen. The schedule contained a number of specific questions and also certain general questions which were designed to tap the subject's free associations, in this way it was hoped to secure comparable data from different subjects and at the same time to leave the door open to new findings. As the investigation proceeded, new questions were added at the end, but the phrasing and the order of the original questions were not changed. The present paper is based upon forty-three completed schedules and seven life-history documents selected for their fullness and explicitness. One of these documents, a diary, runs to more than twenty thousand words.

The following schedule was used in the interviews

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRACTICE TEACHERS

Introductory remarks—The object of this investigation is to discover what effect, if any, your period of practice teaching has had on you. If possible I should like to be able to locate certain changes as taking place in particular weeks of the practice period, I have, therefore, asked you to locate incidents by weeks of the nine-week period. Some of the questions call for introspections which you may not be able to make, do not answer these unless you are fairly sure of your facts. This investigation will have nothing to do with your practice-teaching grade or any other rating which will be assigned to you, its sole purpose is to discover what practice teaching has done to you.

⁸ A paper based upon this material was presented to the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society in 1932.

1. Did the number of hours spent each day in preparation of lessons increase, decrease, or remain constant during your nine weeks?
2. Estimate the number of hours spent daily during each week of the nine-week period.
3. Did your classroom notes become more or less elaborate during the training period?
4. Did you stop using notes at any time during your training period? When?
5. Did the class hour seem longer or shorter as your training went on?
6. Did you have any trouble in deciding what to do with your hands? If this has disappeared, when did it disappear?
7. Did you have any trouble in repressing laughter (in yourself)? When and under what circumstances?
8. Have you come to any conclusions as to when, if ever, it is permissible for a teacher to laugh in the classroom? If so, state your conclusions briefly.
9. Have you ever been angry with a student? When? Why?
10. Were you at any time diffident or hesitant about asking students to pass your papers or do other little tasks for you? Have you changed in this respect?
11. Are you aware of any changes in your classroom voice? Characterize the change, if any.
12. Are you more or less enthusiastic about teaching than you were when you started?
13. Relate any incidents which have defined for you a special code of behavior relating to teachers.
14. What was your most unpleasant experience during the nine weeks of practice teaching?
15. What was your most pleasant experience?
16. Have there been any changes in the degree to which your waking thoughts, when free, were fastened upon teaching situations?
17. Do you recall any dreams relating to teaching situations? If so, tell the dream or dreams briefly.
18. At the end of your nine weeks, do you care more or less than previously about the opinion which students may have of you as a person?
19. What do you regard as the most important experience of the practice-teaching period?
20. Aside from those already dealt with, what changes do you think

your practice-teaching experience has produced in you?

21. How long was it before you noticed matters of discipline (minor matters, such as chewing gum, whispering, etc.)?
22. Are your sympathies now with teachers or students?
23. Can you trace the process of developing skill and accuracy in marking papers and of developing the attitudes that go with standards of grading?
24. Are you happy at the thought of being a teacher, or do you rebel against it?
25. Has your self-confidence increased or decreased as a result of your experience?
26. Do you consider teaching an easy job or a hard job?
27. Do you teach better when the training teacher is present? Do you resent her presence?
28. As a result of your experience, are you more or less critical of your college professors?
29. Did you at any time notice unusual fatigue or hunger?

The clearest and least disputable findings relate to various aspects of habit formation. The following results can perhaps be so classified:

1. During the practice period, the time spent in preparation of lessons drops sharply. Twenty-eight reported a decrease in preparation time, seven no decrease, eight an increase. Of the fifteen reporting no decrease, seven were teaching in fields in which they were not trained, and one became a full-time teacher in an emergency.

2. Lesson plans and notes grew less elaborate. Thirty-five reported less elaborate notes, of this group twenty discarded them altogether.

3. The first class hour seems interminably long; succeeding hours grow much shorter as one becomes habituated to the situation. Forty reported a shortening effect, three no change, of the three reporting no change, two were problem cases. Some reported a pressure of materials on time toward the end of their teaching experience.

4. At first, the teaching situation seems to occupy consciousness completely, dominating all free phantasy, resulting in much shop talk, and so on, but this changes as teaching becomes a job. Twenty-six reported less phantasy and shop talk, ten no decrease, two an increase.

5. The concern of the beginning teacher to get certain things said gives him a peculiar blind spot for minor matters of discipline. Eighteen reported this blind spot definitely; seven definitely stated that it was not there. The redirection of attention from its early exclusive devotion to subject matter does not ordinarily occur for at least a week, and is sometimes delayed for several weeks. The existence of this blind spot furnishes one of the best arguments for practice teaching under supervision. Since the first few days of a term are all-important for discipline, practice-teaching training should prevent a great many failures.

6. In the early part of the practice period, extreme fatigue and hunger are common symptoms.⁴ Although he had taught only two hours and observed others for the remainder of the day, one boy wrote in his diary, "I still feel quite nervous and distraught. I remarked to the office assistant that I am more tired after a day here than when doing hard physical labor. I have that feeling of utter exhaustion." (Sixth week.)

7. Habits of explaining things in detail and very simply were formed and were carried over into other relations. From a diary: "During the week I have discovered myself being weighty and pompous in defining things outside of school to my friends. I guess one gets into the habit of explaining everything in minute detail . . . The tendency to overexplain and to be too careful in things I found cropping out in myself and in

⁴ Miss Braunstein's finding, which came so late in the investigation that it could not be checked against any considerable number of cases. If it holds good upon further testing, this conclusion has some practical importance

other student teachers in our arguments." Habits of gesturing were also formed and carried over. Intimates of the practice teachers frequently resented these changes.

Certain less tangible but clearly traceable changes in personality were adjustments to the authority role. Wielding authority was assuredly a pleasant and constructive experience for these practice teachers. All but three of fifty students questioned on this point reported emphatically an increase in self-confidence as a result of the experience, and there were many lengthy, voluntary statements concerning their feeling of suddenly maturing, of acquiring tolerant attitudes toward adolescents, and so on. The sudden inflation of ego feelings led to a number of ludicrous incidents. Other adjustments to authority and the limelight included the rapid disappearance of diffidence over commands, the fading out of the feeling of bodily awkwardness, and the almost universal improvement of speech and diction. Early adjustments to authority seem to be altogether favorable.

As we know from the study of experienced teachers, this period of favorable adjustment is commonly, if not usually, followed by a period of bitterness and maladjustments; this change appears to be chiefly a matter of ego thwarts suffered in conflict with students and others.⁵ No practice teachers had definitely passed from the enthusiastic, expansive stage to the thwarted, negativistic stage, but the process of change had begun. In the eighth week one boy wrote in his diary: "These days I don't feel nearly so impressive as I did at first. I can feel my egotism rising when I walk through the cafeteria, but not nearly so much as at the beginning of teaching." The appearance of the schoolteacher temper may be taken as a possible indication of waning ego gratification. The schoolteacher temper

⁵ I have advanced a more extensive explanation in *The Sociology of Teaching*, pp 421ff, 433ff.

is a flashing, defensive anger directed at some one who threatens or belittles the teacher's authority. It cannot appear until one has adjusted his emotions to the expanded social self of the teacher; and it thus follows the period of ego expansion noted above. When the outburst comes, it frequently surprises the young teacher; since it usually has some value in control of the immediate situation, it is usually repeated. Twenty-four of forty cases reported unusual outbursts of temper during the practice period. These outbursts usually occurred late in the practice period. Some practice teachers reported shamming or consciously exaggerating anger.

The first important examination frequently brings to the surface latent attitudes of the student which deflate the ego of the new teacher. When he discovers that students are working for grades, and are likely to argue about grades, the new teacher suffers a profound ego thwart.⁶ His standards of grading tend to stiffen after the first grades are made out, which may be explained as spite motivation, polarization in conflict, and also as a rational adjustment.

One would perhaps expect the practice teacher to experience a shift of allegiance from the student group to the teacher group. However, this occurred only to a limited extent. Observation of the stereotyped teachers who abound in any school system throws the practice teacher into severe conflict, but he usually rationalizes by deciding that he will never be like that. The resentment of the teacher identification is, nevertheless, often violent. The transfer of allegiance to the teacher group is slowed up by informal hazing of the practice teachers; nine subjects reported very unpleasant incidents with regular teachers.

Practice teachers did not accept the teacher's moral code

⁶ This may initiate a long process of student-teacher conflict. An excellent case of this was reported in a much discussed anonymous article, "Confessions of a College Teacher," *Scribners*, XCIX, 4 (October 1933), pp. 221-224.

Some two thirds of the male practice teachers had social engagements with high-school girls, although the rule against this was explicit and severe. Perhaps a fourth or fifth of the women practice teachers had such engagements. Of fifty subjects questioned on this point, thirty-two were actively in rebellion against some phase of the teacher code, and it would be difficult to state with assurance that more than one or two were not in rebellion. It should be emphasized that these early conflicts are important determinants of later typical adjustments; novices become typical teachers partly because they do not want to become typical teachers.

Teaching dreams are fairly common among practice teachers; they show where the points of strain appear in the school situation as it affects the teacher. Twenty-four out of fifty student teachers recalled having had some teaching dreams, but few could reproduce the dreams in detail. The most numerous group of dreams related to supervision; perhaps eleven or twelve could be so identified. Three dreams related to tabooed conduct. One related to the treatment of practice teachers by regular teachers. One substituted the supervisor for the student's mother. One was a dream of incompetence; two apparently symbolized social distance. There was one example of the discipline dream. The emotional tone in most cases was very unpleasant. Many dreams involving the supervisor were recurrent. Dreams of practice teachers were markedly similar to the dream types of experienced teachers.⁷

Certain subjects produce rapid professionalization. Drill and the element of conflict are apparently the factors making for rapid professionalization. Practical subjects and subjects which students like cause slower professionalization in the teacher. A factor making for a low rate of professionalization is the preservation of college associations, as at a rooming house. The fact

⁷ W. Waller, *op cit*, pp. 401ff

that for a few weeks after their return to college many student teachers minutely criticized their professors' methods shows some degree of integration into the occupational type. However, many of the changes of personality induced by practice teaching disappeared within a month.

Insight into the social situation of the classroom, as revealed by the question concerning laughter and by other general questions, was far below the level of more experienced teachers.

The conclusion seems indicated that the practice period of nine weeks is long enough for the development of habits and skills, but not long enough to permit the student to obtain a good understanding of the teaching situation nor to see him through the period of sharpest conflict with his occupational role.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SCHOOL STUDY VISUALIZES DELINQUENCY¹

Community action to control juvenile delinquency depends on community leaders becoming conscious of the problem.

Most communities have no total picture of their delinquency situation. Community leaders do not actually know the facts. The average judge of the juvenile court can give them little assistance because he is himself too busy to analyze his own records and he has no clerical staff free for that purpose.

The assistance that the schools can give under such circumstances is vividly illustrated by an interesting spot map of the distribution of 493 boys in Wyandotte, Michigan, dealt with by the police or by the juvenile court in five years from January 1, 1927, to January 1, 1932. The data on which this map is based were assembled by Messrs. Harry Wagner, Jesse Dalley, and C. J. Whitney of the Wyandotte schools. Other studies throwing light on the educational status of Wyandotte delinquents and on local attitudes have been made by Miss Bessie Tohill Davis and Mrs. Jeannette Horton, also of the educational staff.

In this case the research was done in connection with University work in sociology, but less ambitious projects could easily be carried out by social-science pupils of local high schools if they were carefully directed. Such studies would not only provide the data to focus community attention on the delinquency problem, but would serve to vitalize social-science teaching by familiarizing pupils with their own community's problems.

During the five years covered by the Wyandotte study 493 boys and 333 girls were handled by the police or the courts, a total of 826.

¹ Reprinted from *Delinquency News Letter* (University of Michigan Juvenile Delinquency Information Service, December 1934), pp. 1, 2, 3.

By years totals were as follows:

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1927	51	32	83
1928	50	59	109
1929	139	73	212
1930	133	91	224
1931	104	68	172
Unknown	16	10	26
	<hr/> 493	<hr/> 333	<hr/> 826

Slightly more than half of these delinquents were handled by the police and by the local justice court and not by the Wayne County Juvenile Court. On the basis of school population the delinquency rate per 1000 in Wyandotte was, in 1927, 6 for the boys and 3.8 for the girls. The boys' rate reached a peak of 15.5 per 1000 school population in 1929; the girls' a peak of 9.7 in 1930. Wyandotte's population in 1930 was 28,368, and its school population varied from 8,324 in 1927 to 9,757 in 1931.

Nearly sixty per cent of all offenders, boys and girls, were truants; 28 per cent of the boys were guilty of larceny. Immorality constituted the second most numerous offense for the girls: 27 per cent.

One of the most significant facts was that 74.5 per cent of the boys and 53.4 per cent of the girls came from unbroken, *i.e.*, "normal," homes. The families from which the delinquents came were somewhat larger than the average for the city.

In line with studies elsewhere, Polish homes contributed a disproportionate number of delinquents relative to population. Foreign and native-born Poles constituted 26.6 per cent of Wyandotte's population in 1930. Delinquents from Polish homes made up 39.5 per cent of the total delinquents.

DELINQUENTS IN A BOYS' REPUBLIC

A significant study of the success and failure of one thousand delinquents committed to the Ford Boys' Republic near Detroit was completed and published in a private edition by the University of Chicago Library late in 1935.¹ The study was made by Courtlandt C. Van

¹ This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Courtlandt C. Van Vechten.

Vechten, who is now a sociologist and actuary of the Division of Pardons and Parole in the State of Illinois.

The study, on the one hand, was an attempt to make a contribution to the methodology of prediction of human behavior, and, on the other, to determine the relationship between determinable characteristics of juvenile delinquents and their ultimate social adjustments. The work consists of a general statement on the institution considered and a discussion of methods and techniques, followed by chapters on the individual factors, home-background factors, neighborhood and school factors, delinquency factors, institutional factors, and post-institutional factors. Some statistical problems are considered and prediction tables based on the factors studied are presented. There is a summary chapter presenting the results of the study and the raw data which were used are presented in an appendix. The study has an excellent bibliography of studies dealing with prediction and social factors entering into delinquency.

CRIME PREVENTION INSTITUTE ORGANIZED

At a recent meeting at the City Club in New York, the National Crime Prevention Institute, Incorporated, was organized with the following officers:

President, Dr. Sheldon Glueck, Law School, Harvard University

Treasurer, Dean George W. Kirchwey, New York City

Secretary, Frederic M. Thrasher, New York University

Executive Director, Roland C. Sheldon, New York City

The purpose of the Institute is to concentrate upon the problem of crime prevention. It will carry on researches in this field as well as dispense information and prepare practical programs

THE STUDY OF STUDENT TRADITIONS AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH

This paper reports a study carried on by W. H. Cowley of Ohio State University of student group behavior in American colleges and universities.¹ In these researches the investigator had the cooperation of many sociologists throughout the country, who have used advanced students in their courses to gather information upon their campuses concerning the mechanisms of student group life. Because of the necessity

¹ This statement is furnished through the courtesy of W. H. Cowley, Ohio State University.

of depending upon student assistance in gathering much of the data, the study has been denominated "Student Traditions." It includes, however, a fairly complete canvass of student life viewed sociologically.

The investigator was interested not only in the group behavior patterns but in the generic culture complex of the American college as contrasted with foreign institutions and the differentiation of this basic complex in configurations by size and complexity of institutions and also by age, type, and locale of institutions. He was similarly interested in the problem of controlling the behavior of college students by means of intelligent understanding of the rationale of social heritage. He was concerned also with the relationship of group life in college to adult society.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Economic Problems, by HAROLD F. CLARK.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 271 pages.

Occasionally a volume appears that should be read by every teacher and citizen who could not understand a more technical work dealing with the problems of our economic and social life. Mr. Clark has written just such a book. The purpose of this book is primarily to present a discussion in simple language from the point of view of improving our economic order, showing the place of the teacher and the school in the task of social readjustment to the end that the American people as a whole shall have an opportunity to live the good life.

The author accepts private ownership as the basis of the economic order, but recognizes that at the present time our economic order is highly inefficient. He, therefore, advocates the substitution of a coordinated economic order without departing from the essential elements of ownership of the means of production. He calls on us to pool our resources of intelligence, of good faith, and of research to the end that our world may be a better place in which to live.

The book is a timely, honest, direct examination of the outstanding problems of economic life in present-day America.

The American State and Higher Education, by ALEXANDER BRODY. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education and the Social Science Research Council, 1935, vii + 251 pages.

This is an analysis of the relation of the State to higher education in the United States. The author has availed himself of all the significant material germane to his study, historical, educational, legal, and political. The historian will find this volume indispensable for a future history of higher education in this country. To the lawyer, it offers an authoritative statement of the legal status of institutions for higher education. Of interest to the student of educational administration is the presentation of the pattern of administrative control of education. The student of public administration will welcome this volume as a contribution to his literature.

Without delving at length into many interesting themes which this volume presents, it will suffice to point out one, namely, the problem of educational

autonomy, *i.e.*, the area of administrative independence of State institutions for higher education. Herein is contained a paradox. A public educational institution is an agency of the State, and yet because of its peculiar functions it must be free from political control. What is to be the line of demarcation between the political and educational functions of the State? Perhaps this paradox is inherent in a democracy. The American people have long experienced the problem of placing beyond the reach of their own political representatives those interests deemed of special protection.

Home and Family, by HELEN MOUGEY JORDAN, M. LOUISA ZILLER, AND JOHN FRANKLIN BROWN. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1935, 426 pages.

This book presents in terms understandable to high-school students the factors that enter into the making of a home. It has been planned for the use of boys as well as of girls because the authors have assumed that the family consists of at least two persons, one of them being a man.

The "major activities and relationships which a rational home and family life involve" have been set forth singly, and methods of dealing with each problem have been discussed.

The topics are as follows. the material home, the successful family; management, child development, the family as an institution; the family as a personal problem

A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, by CARLTON J. H. HAYES. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1936, vol. II, xiv + 1,215 pages.

By analyzing "A Century of Predominantly Industrial Society, 1830-1935," Professor Hayes concludes his book. He belongs to that school of American historians which recognizes the possibility, as well as the desirability, of escaping from the narrowly political or economic framework of nineteenth-century historiography and of achieving a broadened cultural interpretation. In this respect, the late Dr. James Harvey Robinson and Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, in addition to others, have produced historical studies which at a time of enforced reevaluation, such as we are at present undergoing, however unconscious we might be of it, are the best examples of the so-called "new" history. Hayes's work is a brave and honest addition to the contributions of this school. It surveys the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and describes the events of Europe from the viewpoint of economic and political liberalism and romanticism and nationalism. The second part specializes in the period of 1870-1914, and the third concludes with the postwar period. Of special value are the chapters

dealing with art and religion in the era of realism and the present period of disillusionment, progress and poverty, mechanical certainties and scientific doubt, religion and art in the contemporary world. Select bibliographies are not exhaustive but very useful. All in all, Hayes has little to add to our knowledge of what happened, but he has much to offer on the propelling forces of events and the springs from which they emanated. In this respect Hayes is brilliant without effort and clear without becoming common.

Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases, by CHARLES C. PETERS AND WALTER R. VANVOORHIS. State College, Pa.: Pennsylvania State College, 1935, 363 pages.

For the individual who is not thoroughly versed in the calculus, but desires to understand more thoroughly the derivation of the formulas for the statistical concepts used in biological and social investigations, this book will prove exceedingly helpful. It is a fairly successful attempt to steer a midway course between the oversimplified statistical texts, of which there are many, and the more technical works of the mathematicians. After a brief elementary presentation of the calculus principles involved in statistical derivations, the book is devoted to a step-by-step explanation of the mathematical bases of the more common statistical formulas. The authors clearly enumerate the assumptions that have been made in order to reduce some of our formulas to their present simplicity and emphasize the errors that frequently arise through the misuse of statistical formulas on data which do not conform to the assumptions on which the formulas were based. It is unfortunate that minor typographical errors persist throughout the book even though the first printing was recalled for corrections.

The Ancestry of the Long Lived, by RAYMOND PEARL AND RUTH DE WITT PEARL. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, 168 pages.

In this careful and scientific investigation of the inheritance of human life duration, the authors have suggested a new measurable attribute for an individual known as *TIAL* (Total Immediate Ancestral Longevity). This measure consists of the sum of the ages at death of the six ancestors of the two immediately preceding generations. The distributions, variability, and interrelations of *TIAL* are analyzed for two groups of persons: one consisting of individuals 90 years of age or above and still living, the other composed of the oldest living siblings from sibships taken at random so far as longevity is concerned. The comparisons and interrelations of *TIAL* for the two groups show clearly that heredity is an important factor in the determination of the longevity of the individual human beings. On the basis of the comparisons, a conservative estimate of the genetic influence is made.

Fascism and National Socialism, by MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, x + 292 pages.

This comparative study of the economic and social policies of the present regimes in Italy and Germany is in no sense a penetrating work of social or political significance. But it provides an illuminating prelude to any study of present-day events in Germany and Italy. The main interest of the book will be found in what Dr Florinsky saw and heard in these countries. We thus learn that "history, law, economics, and philosophy have to be taught in the spirit of fascism and national socialism. Some professors still succeed in defeating the strictness of regulations, making use of this subterfuge or that, but their position is precarious, and it is all humiliating to the last degree." Those who have never found time to go through other more specialized books on the topic will doubtless learn from it much that they never knew

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Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol. II. A Century of Predominately Industrial Society, 1830-1935, by CARLTON H. H. HAYES
New York: The Macmillan Company.

Psychology of Adjustment, by L. F. SHAFFER New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

Psychology of Sex, by HAVELOCK ELLIS. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

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Sex Technique in Marriage, by ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

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Theory of Social Work, by FRANK J. BRUNO New York: D. C. Heath and Company.

War. No Profit, No Glory, No Need, by NORMAN THOMAS. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.

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Woman's Best Years, by W. BERAN WOLFE. New York: Emerson Books, Inc

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